UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ALBERTA I.O.D.E. ON THE SOCIAL WELFARE POLICIES OF ERNEST MANNING 1943-1966

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study concerns itself with the influence of the Alberta Chapter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Order (IODE), as a prominent member of the voluntary sector, upon the social welfare policies and practices of the Social Credit government, particularly during Ernest Manning's tenure as Premier from 1943 to 1966. It also examines the factors of gender, class and ethnicity and their bearing upon IODE social welfare reform initiatives.

The study traces the little known, close relationship that developed between the IODE and the Social Credit government since 1935, and the efforts of the Order to improve welfare services in the province, which culminated in the contentious 1947 IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, written by Dr. Charlotte Whitton.

The study concludes that despite Manning's opposition to the IODE Report, his government implemented many of the Report's recommendations.

I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Dr. John A. Eagle, Department of History and Classics, University of Alberta, and the members of the Edmonton Chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire.

The photograph on the cover of this thesis is taken from the text, No Bleeding Heart, Charlotte Whitton, A Feminist on the Right, P. T. Rooke & R. L. Schnell, depicting Dr. Charlotte Whitton on the right and Mrs. R.C. (Daisy) Marshall, President of the Alberta Chapter of the I.O.D.E., on the left, on their way to court in 1948.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to analyze the factors that led to the shift in the social welfare policies of the Social Credit Government of Alberta led by Ernest Manning in the period 1943-1966. Particular attention will be devoted to the role of the Voluntary or Third Sector in influencing these initiatives. The study will focus on the Alberta Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE), which sponsored a 1947 report on welfare that was quite critical of many of the Alberta Government's social welfare policies and practices, particularly in the area of child welfare.

The question of why the government of Ernest Manning instituted a Welfare State in the Province of Alberta in the 1960's has been the subject of considerable debate and analysis.[1] During the 1950's and 1960's the Alberta Government moved from a position of strong opposition to federal social programs to an accommodation with many of these programs. The Alberta Social Credit Government had a long history of resisting welfare state initiatives. For example, in 1938, Social Credit Premier William Aberhart strongly opposed Prime Minister Mackenzie King's proposal for an amendment of the British North America Act (BNA) that would allow Ottawa to pass unemployment insurance legislation. Alberta was joined by both Quebec and New Brunswick in its initial opposition to the proposed amendment. However, Alberta was the last Province to give its consent to amending the constitution to allow the Federal Government to institute unemployment insurance. It was not until 1940 that Aberhart, under pressure from Prime Minister Mackenzie King, would

[1] Leslie Bella, "The Politics of a Right-Wing Welfare State," (PhD Thesis, University of Alberta, 1981), pp 1-3.

finally agree to sign the agreement.[2] Leslie Bella contends that Alberta's change in social policy in the 1950's and 1960's constituted the establishment of a right-wing welfare state.[3] Richard Splane asserts that the impetus for welfare reform originated with high-ranking bureaucrats in the Alberta Government's Department of Public Welfare.[4] The concept of the Welfare State is crucial in understanding this developmental period in Alberta's history. The Welfare State denotes the provision of a social minimum for all citizens in need. It involves a collectivistic instead of an individualistic approach to resolving social problems.[5]

Alberta has a long history of the partnership between the Provincial Government and the Voluntary Sector in delivering social welfare services. The goal of this study is to demonstrate how the IODE, as a member of the voluntary sector, played an important role in influencing the shift in welfare priorities and in determining the content of several social policy initiatives implemented by Premier Manning in the 1950's and 1960's. Manning would later claim that this shift was an example of his 'social conservatism.'[6] Although the IODE was a key determinant of change, it was, not, however, the only factor. The discovery of oil near Leduc in the late 1940's, changing demographics, urbanization, federal social programs, specifically the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), and the involvement of senior bureaucrats in the design of state welfare programs also played a role in facilitating the shift. The role of the IODE,

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[2] Dennis Guest, The Emergence of Social Security in Canada, 3rd ed. (Vancouver, BC, UBC Press, 1997) p. 105.
[3] Bella, "The Politics of a Right Wing Welfare State," p. 3-4.
[4] Richard Splane, "Social Welfare Development in Alberta: The Federal-Provincial Interplay, in "Jacqueline S. Ismael, ed., Canadian Social Welfare Policy: Federal and Provincial Dimensions, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1985) pp 173-187.
[5] See Guest, Emergence of Social Security, pp 1-19; Gerry Mooney, "Quasi Markets and the Mixed Economy of Welfare," in Social Policy: A Conceptual and Theoretical Introduction, ed by Michael Lavalette and Alan Pratt, (London, Sage Publications 1997) pp 228-244; Richard Titmuss, Social Policy: An Introduction (London, England, William Clowes and Sons Ltd, 1964) pp 47-49.
[6] Leslie Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, (Edmonton: University of Alberta, Department of Recreation Administration, 1978) pp 20-22.

however, has been obscured or neglected in most historical accounts, especially its role as an advocate for change.

To facilitate an increased appreciation of the unique historical interplay between private and government sectors in the delivery of social services in Alberta, several concepts will be used to delineate the different philosophical arguments in respect to the delivery of social services. Firstly, the concept of the welfare state is a subject of considerable debate. The term implies an acceptance of a minimum standard of living for all citizens. However, what constitutes a social minimum in Canada differs from one province to another. The term 'social assistance' is therefore a more apt description of provincial initiatives. Two other concepts of social welfare policies will also be used throughout the study to denote the differing perspectives regarding the care of those less fortunate. A residual concept involves a secondary role for government in the provision of social services, while the primary responsibility for dealing with poverty lies with the individual, family, private charitable organizations and church-based institutions. In contrast, the institutional concept views individuals as the victims of circumstances beyond their control, and takes the position that government programs should be the first line of defense in ameliorating social problems. The family, churches and the charitable sector, consequently, assume a secondary or supplementary role.[7]

This thesis uses Richard Titmuss's concept of social policy to analyze the role of the IODE in influencing government welfare policies. Titmuss, one of the leading experts on this subject, has defined government policy as the "actions of government in expressing the

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[7] See Titmuss, Social Policy: pp 30-32, 47-49; Guest, The Emergence of Social Security, pp 1-8; Alvin Finkel, "The Origins of the Welfare State in Canada, "in Social Welfare Policy in Canada Historical Readings, Raymond Blake and Jeff Keshen, eds. (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1995) pp 221-239.

general will of the people." Policy has also been defined by Titmuss as "the principles that govern action towards given ends."[8] The IODE saw itself as a partner of the government in delivering welfare services. Therefore, this study employs Saidel's concept of resource interdependence for analyzing the relationship between government and the voluntary sector. The relationship between the Alberta government and the IODE in the field of social policy can be viewed as one of resource interdependence, which is a common feature of the relationship between government and the private sector.[9]

During the first half of the 20th century, the provision of social services in Alberta was often made on an ad hoc basis, with the private sector serving in the capacity of a major provider. There were, however, several important government social programs established in the interwar period. In 1919, Alberta legislated a Mothers' Allowance plan, which assisted low-income single mothers with dependent children. In 1929, Alberta joined the cost-shared federal Old Age Pension plan, which provided poor seniors with a small pension of twenty dollars a month. Both plans were strongly residual in nature and the pension was subjected to a strict means test. The Workers' Compensation Act passed by the Alberta Legislature in 1918 fits the institutional mould the best. It was modeled on the Ontario legislation of 1914. Compensation for workers injured in industrial accidents was awarded without regard to responsibility for the injury, and employers funded the plan.[10] For the

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[8] Titmuss, Social Policy: pp 23-24.
[9] Judith Saidel, "Resource Interdependence: The Relationship between State Agencies and Non-profit Organizations, " (Thesis dissertation, Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy Department of Public Administration and Policy, 1991), pp 380-390.
[10] Welfare in Alberta : The Report of a Study undertaken by the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, Alberta Provincial Chapter, Edmonton, 1947, p. 9.

most part, the citizens in Alberta relied on the kind-hearted generosity of its people and a tradition of commitment to voluntary action.[11]

During the Second World War, there developed new ideas that involved a major role for government in the area of social policy. The 1942 Beveridge Report in Britain and the 1943 Marsh Report in Canada advocated many of these new concepts that came to be known as the "welfare state." In Canada these ideas produced considerable controversy and were adopted gradually in the two decades after the end of the war. The federal government introduced welfare state programs, such as unemployment insurance (1940), contributory pensions (1965) and Medicare (1968). The voluntary sector in Alberta responded to these new welfare state programs by attempting to bring social service programming within the province in line with national standards. However, the concept of national standards of social assistance was never addressed in specific terms in IODE documents. The IODE-sponsored 1947 Welfare in Alberta Report did enunciate the idea of an "acceptable standard" for those working in the field of social work.

This study will focus on the Alberta Chapter of the IODE, as an example of an important voluntary sector organization in the province from the 1930's to the 1960's. The IODE was one of many organizations challenged by a need to become an effective vehicle for social change. It was chosen for this study because it had signaled its willingness to challenge publicly the record of the Manning government in the field of social welfare with the publication of its 1947 study, Welfare in Alberta.

Recommendations from this study became a 'blueprint for action' on the part of the Social Credit Government, despite Premier Manning's insistence that the study had no

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[11]Ibid., p. 9.

bearing on any government social policy initiatives. Two specific areas of program development in the 1950's and 1960's will be examined to determine the basis and content of these initiatives and the shift in policy direction that gave rise to them. They were the child welfare policy initiatives of the 1950's and the Preventive Social Services Program (PSS) of 1966. The philosophy and provisions of these policies reflected the influence of the voluntary sector, specifically, the recommendations in the IODE sponsored report of 1947.

Beneath the surface of the interplay of these two sectors emerged a new set of social dynamics, those of class and gender. The middle class members of the IODE would serve the Social Credit Party as a key constituent, and the architect of many of the Manning government's social policy initiatives.

The Provincial Chapter of the IODE, for many years, an 'arms length supporter' of the government, experienced the first wave of a new social consciousness after the Second World War. As a result, the Alberta IODE became a key vehicle for ensuring the transition from the residual welfare system of the 1930's and the early 1940's to a fledging quasi-institutional state welfare system by the late 1960's. The role of the IODE, situated between business, government and the people of Alberta, allowed this representative of the voluntary sector to become a pivotal organization and one of the strongest advocates for change, during this important period in the history of social welfare in Alberta.

CHAPTER 1

SOCIAL WELFARE IN ALBERTA 1905-1943

The federal government granted Alberta provincial status in 1905. For the first four decades of its existence as a province, Alberta was classified as a ' have-not-province.' Its dependence on the largesse of Ottawa and the influence of Ontario largely determined the parameters of its social welfare initiatives.[1] The concept of welfare has a long history. As Jack Wiseman observes, "we can identify welfare with the existence of caring feelings."[2] During those first decades, except for the occasional government foray into welfare programming, the family and the voluntary sector were the repository for most of these caring feelings in Alberta.

Like most industrializing democratic nations in the first few decades of the 20th century, Canada was in the throes of demographic and social change. The federal government's policies were focused on attracting immigrants to settle the four western provinces, and to develop their natural resources. In Alberta and Saskatchewan, unlike the provinces of the East, the destination of this wave of settlers was rural.[3] Particularly, in these two provinces, there was considerable migration from Eastern Canada and immigration from the United States, Britain and Continental Europe.[4] The goal of these settlers was to acquire agricultural land, and many "were far from destitute," especially those from the

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[1] Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Politics," in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds. Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation, 5th edition (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada, 1998), pp 305-320.
[2] Jack Wiseman, "The Welfare State: A Public Choice Perspective," in The State and Social Welfare: The Objectives of Policy (London and New York: Longman, Group UK Ltd., 1991), p. 55.
[3] Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Politics," pp 307-8.
[4] Ibid., p. 307: Wiseman is referring to the period 1907 to 1914.

United States."[5] These American settlers brought with them a strong belief in self-sufficiency and a laissez-faire attitude to the market place.[6] American settlers accounted for "49% of the homestead entries on the prairies from 1907 to 1915."[7] It was calculated that in rural Alberta, "more than one in five Alberta residents ...was American born...while the national average was 1 in 25."[8] Though there were equal numbers of Americans and Britons in Alberta in the 1920's, Americans outnumbered Britons in all 15 of Alberta's rural census divisions, by a ratio of two to one.[9] When the UFA was formed in 1909, about one-half of the directors on its Board were American born.[10] The strength of American influence would have a direct bearing on public opinion regarding social welfare legislation.

In 1909 the Alberta government asked J.J. Kelso, Ontario Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, to assist Alberta in developing child protection services. A man of vision and compassion, Kelso had by 1904 established in Ontario a system of thirty-six Children's Aid Societies, and by 1910 this figure had risen to seventy-six.[11] In 1909 Alberta passed what was considered "the most advanced Neglected and Dependent Children's Act in Canada."[12] This legislation was modeled very closely on the 1893 Ontario legislation. It provided for the appointment of a Superintendent of Neglected Children who would direct and supervise the work of all children's aid societies in the province. Children's Aid Societies were set up in Edmonton, Lethbridge, Calgary and Medicine Hat between 1909

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[5] David Edgar Lysne,"Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," (MA Thesis, University of Alberta, Department of History, 1966), p. 17.
[6] Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Politics," p. 318.
[7] David Lynse, "Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," (MA Thesis, University Department of History and Classics) p. 15.
[8] Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Politics, "R.Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds., Readings in Canadian History: Post-Conferderation, 5th edition, p. 318.
[9] Ibid., p. 309.
[10] Ibid., p. 318.
[11] Andrew Jones & Leonard Rutman, In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) p. 140.
[12] Welfare in Alberta Report: A Report by the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, Alberta Provincial Chapter, Edmonton, 1947, p. 13.

and 1913.[13] The IODE would later recommend that Alberta continue to provide child welfare services in such a manner, using a combination of statutory and voluntary services, within a decentralized system of service delivery.

Although the new child protection legislation marked a significant milestone in Alberta's social welfare history, any major progress, especially in those first few decades, was offset by the philosophical outlook of the early pioneers who viewed poverty and dependency as the result of human weakness.[14] Provinces entering Canada after Confederation followed the colonial tradition by giving responsibility for "poor relief" and other types of care for the indigent to their municipalities. In the western provinces, the provincial government had to provide some assistance to the poor in areas where there were no municipalities. Within this philosophical climate there was little room for the expansion of welfare services. Assistance was often arbitrary, the result of municipal or voluntary effort aimed at ameliorating individual problems.[15] During the period 1905-1925, the Alberta government, "made no conscious design to have the provincial government assume the major role for welfare services."[16] During the same period in the history of Alberta we begin to witness a growing interdependence between the not-for-profit sector and the Alberta Government. Legally, "the provincial government had no statutory basis which permitted it to coordinate or effectively integrate welfare done at the community and individual level."[17] The failure of the government to manage voluntary welfare services was further compromised by the fact that municipalities did not have the resources or time to

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[13] Henry Klassen, "In Search of Neglected and Dependent Children: The Calgary Children's Aid Society 1909-1920," in Alan F.J. Artibise, ed., Town and City Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981) p. 377.
[14] Dennis Guest, The Emergence of Social Security in Canada, 3rd ed. (Vancouver, BC, UBC Press, 1997) pp 1-5.
[15] Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Politics," pp 305-322.
[16] Lysne," Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," p. 23.
[17] Ibid., p. 69.

develop innovative social welfare practices. As a result, the voluntary sector was able to develop a significant base of power as a leader in welfare design and delivery. Hence, a powerful liaison developed between the Alberta Government and the Voluntary Sector. The dependence of the Provincial Government on this sector continued to define the nature of Alberta's social welfare policy development and implementation process well into the 1940's.[18]

The Role of the Voluntary Sector

Since Alberta's inception as a province, the voluntary sector has played a major role in the delivery of welfare services. Due to gaps and weaknesses in the early provincial welfare system, several religious and private organizations emerged to deal with the increasing complexity of social needs. Lysne uses the example of the work of the Sisters of Mercy in the period prior to 1920, to give an idea of the extent of the support provided by the private sector and the Catholic religious orders. Receiving neither compensation nor remuneration, the order provided lodging and care for needy children, and orphans, and care for the sick, incurable, indigent and aged in the province.[19]

The first two decades would also witness the increasing influence of the women's movement in Alberta. After acquiring the provincial suffrage in 1916, Alberta women now had a base of power to expand their effort to assist those in need. They continued to advocate for increased services for needy women and children, and improved child welfare services and pensions for seniors. In Alberta, as well as elsewhere in Canada, women's organizations devoted a great deal of time and effort to the social problems faced by single

[18] See Provincial Archives of Alberta, IODE Minutes, Correspondence, Alberta Provincial Chapter IODE, 1936-1945; Lysne, "Welfare in Alberta," pp 67-69.
[19] Lysne," Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936" pp 23-24.

parent families headed by women. A few examples of some of the more active organizations include The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, The National Council of Women of Canada, the Woman's Branch of the Maccabees, the Dominion Order of the King's Daughters, The Woman's New Era League, The University Woman's Club and the Equal Franchise Club.[20] It was also at this time that the United Farm Women's Association gained a stronger voice in dealing with social issues. The Anglican Church, the Knights of Pythias, the Salvation Army, The Red Cross, Sons of England and the St. George Society also made their presence known. The IODE, initially organized in England during the South African War to assist soldiers and their families, soon became a powerful force in the social and political life of the Province. The IODE is particularly important, as it was to become by the 1930's a pivotal organization in dealing with the need for improving social welfare practices in Alberta.

The Role of the Provincial Government 1905-1936

In 1905 the Alberta government took responsibility for the insane and those convicted of a crime. Relief was only provided to those who could be classified as destitute or incurable. No individual, whether aged, disabled or widowed was able to receive assistance unless they could prove destitution, or could prove that their illness was incurable. The Insanity Act and the Public Health Act were passed in 1909, and a provincial jail and an Insane Asylum were established a few years later. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Child Protection Act was passed in 1909 and the Mother's Allowance Act in 1919.[21] In 1919 a separate provincial

[20] Veronica Strong-Boag, "Wages for Housework" Mothers' Allowances and the Beginnings of Social Security in Canada, Social Welfare Policy in Canada: Historical Readings, in Raymond B Blake & Jeff Keshen, Eds. (Toronto: Copp-Clark Ltd., 1995) pp 122-134.
[21] Lysne, "Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," p. 19-39.

Department of Health was created and although these policy initiatives were significant, "the notion that local and volunteer organizations were in the most favourable position to meet social needs, retained its strong appeal."[22] The Mothers' Allowance legislation was important, Strong-Boag observes, because it emphasized that the nuclear family was "the unequalled environment for optimal child development," rather than orphanages, refuges and industrial schools.[23] Alberta's early child welfare policies had considerable significance for the crisis in welfare reform in the 1940's. There developed a conflict between proponents advocating the continuation of local Children's Aid Services as the solution in dealing with the needs of abandoned and neglected children, and those who supported orphanages, refuges and industrial schools.[24] The proponents of CAS and Mothers' Allowance were those who stressed that the nuclear family was the best environment for child development. However, the Mothers' Allowance Plan was not really an institutional program since not all single mothers were eligible for benefits. A more applicable classification would be quasi-institutional.

Alberta, along with the other three Western Provinces and Ontario, had established Mothers' Allowance programs in the period 1916-1920. However, this program did not lead to any basic change in the welfare structure in Alberta. The instituting of pensions for low-income seniors in Alberta was an important step towards implementing national standards, and guaranteeing a minimum standard of living for seniors. Old Age Pensions were the chief contribution to modern income maintenance in Canada made during the 1920's.[25] The federal government adopted old age pension legislation in 1927. In 1929 the Province of Alberta

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[22] Ibid., pp 89-90.
[23] Strong-Boag,"Wages for Housework;" pp 122-23.
[24] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, pp 14-16.
[25] Guest, Emergence of Social Security, p. 74.

passed old age pension legislation under a shared cost agreement with the federal government as set out in the 1927 legislation. The cost of pensions was shared on a 50/50 basis by the federal government and the provinces. In Alberta, municipalities were also expected to meet 10% of the provincial share of pension costs. This pension was not universal in its application. Those eligible for the pension were persons seventy and over who had resided in the province for five years, and in Canada for twenty years. The pension had a strict means test and was designed to provide assistance to poor seniors. The Province assumed the responsibility for all administrative costs of providing the pensions.[26] However, the traditional reliance on the voluntary sector continued during this period, and the creation of new private welfare organizations was encouraged.[27]

The effects of the Great Depression clearly, and quickly, revealed the inadequacies of the welfare system in Alberta. "The idea that volunteer organizations and private charities provided sufficient maintenance for the sick and disabled had its basis completely undermined."[28] During this period in Alberta, as elsewhere in Canada, approximately 25% of the labour force was unemployed, creating increased demand for welfare services.[29] A few notable changes in welfare policy occurred during this period. In 1930, the Charity and Relief Branch, which was a part of the Department of Health, became part of the Department of Municipal Affairs. The turmoil brought on by the Depression forced all levels of government to re-think their position on welfare issues. In 1933 a new Unemployment Relief Act was

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[26] See IODE Welfare in Alberta Report 1947, pp 16-17; Guest, Emergence of Social Security, pp 74-81.
[27] See Irving Goffman, Papers in Taxation and Public Finances, Fiscal Aspects of Public Welfare in Canada, (Kingston: Queens University 1965) pp 20-22; David Lysne, Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936, 111 and abstract.
[28] Lysne, "Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," p. 125.
[29] Marsha Mildon, A Wealth of Voices: The Edmonton Social Planning Council 1940-1990 (Edmonton:Edmonton Social; Planning Council 1990) pp 10-12; IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. 20; Lynes, "Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," p. 133.

legislated federally, in the hope that it could provide some stability in the lives of Canadians.[30] In the period 1933-1935, a new political party, the Social Credit Party, developed in Alberta. The Social Credit Party, under the dynamic leadership of 'Bible Bill' Aberhart, capitalized on a growing discontent with economic conditions at that time. The main plank in the party's platform was the 'social dividend.' In his speeches, Aberhart indicated that the initial dividend would likely be twenty-five dollars per adult per month. It was not surprising then, that the Social Credit Party won the 1935 provincial election, defeating the long entrenched United Farmers of Alberta, which failed to elect a single MLA.[31] The Aberhart government appeared to offer a solution to the growing economic crisis with its unique monetary policy. In 1936 the new government created The Bureau of Relief and Public Welfare, which was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Health. This was an important step because it represented the start of a major role for the provincial government in the delivery of welfare services. The Aberhart government also passed a Social Services Tax in 1936, with the revenue earmarked for welfare services. The Social Credit Government maintained its faith in the ability of the market to correct itself, but it was Aberhart's belief that the free market could only operate effectively with the assistance of his policy of social dividends. Nevertheless, the government continued to lean even more heavily on a burgeoning voluntary and charitable sector that was scrambling to meet the growing demands on its services.[32]

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[30] See Goffman, Papers in Taxation and Public Finances, pp 17-28; Lysne," Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," pp 136-138; IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, pp 17-20.

[31] See David R. Elliot and Iris Miller, Bible Bill, A Biography of William Aberhart, (Edmonton: Reidmore Books 1981) p. 199; Alvin Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 35.

[32] See Mildon, A Wealth of Voices, pp 10-12; IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. 20; Lysne," Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," p. 133.

CHAPTER 2

SHARED RESPONSIBILITY IN WELFARE DELIVERY

Aberhart had come to power in 1935. During the first two years of Social Credit's tenure in office the Alberta IODE developed a closer relationship with the provincial government. During this period of the Social Credit tenure, the Alberta IODE appears to have achieved a position of considerable influence in government circles. In a 1937-1938 Report on the work of the Provincial IODE, it was reported that a motion for affiliation with the Alberta Federation of Women had been defeated at the semi-annual general meeting in Lethbridge in 1937. The socially conscious middle-class women of the Alberta IODE had no need for support from another voluntary organization at this time. The relationship between the IODE and Premier Aberhart was already quite close. Excerpts from the minute book as detailed in the 1936-37 report of the Order disclosed that "any matters dealing with the Provincial Government have been taken up direct by our organization."[1] After the Provincial Annual Meeting in 1937 ended, "representatives of the Provincial Chapter waited upon the Premier and discussed, ...various problems with him."[2] These problems included concerns regarding single men on relief, school curriculums, the Keith Sanatorium, and facilities for the deaf. During these discussions, Premier Aberhart made a commitment to the IODE " to have a survey made in the near future and let us have further information later."[3] The Premier was referring to a survey to determine the needs of Alberta's hearing impaired community. The reciprocal nature of the relationship with all levels of government was

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[1] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Minutes, IODE Provincial Chapter Report, 1937-1938.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

reflected in a later statement in the same report. "A letter [was] sent to Lieutenant Governor Philip Primrose, congratulating him on his appointment and assuring him of the loyalty and support of the members of the order."[4]

A clear indication of the close relationship between the Order and the Aberhart government can be found in IODE correspondence. For example, on October 5, 1938, Fred McNally, the Deputy Minister of Education, wrote to Miss Marjorie Gilbard, the Secretary of the National Chapter of the IODE, approving the resolution of the Municipal Chapter of London, Ontario. Although the resolution was not identified, it appears that the focus of the communication was on the capacity of the National Chapter of the IODE to make an award and the mechanism required to facilitate the decision making process. The Deputy Minister suggested "that the Provincial Chapters in each case nominate one or two persons each year, giving all relevant material on which the nomination is based".[5] The Deputy Minister was acting in his capacity as a member of the Advisory Board of the National Chapter of the IODE. Later, at the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Alberta Provincial Chapter held at the Macdonald Hotel in Edmonton on April 7, 8 and 9, 1942, Premier Aberhart welcomed the delegates on behalf of the government.[6]

As noted, the Social Credit government and the IODE had enjoyed a long-term and close relationship. In the summer of 1940, Deputy Minister of Education, Fred McNally, sent a letter to Mrs. C. T. Woodside, an executive member of the Order, regarding a problem in the Examination Branch. In the letter, the Deputy Minister remarked, "Miss Grant has sent me the attached memorandum and if the suggestions contained in it meet

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[4] IODE Provincial Chapter Report, 1937-38. In the IODE correspondence and minutes there is continuous referenced to a close relationship with all levels of government.
[5] IODE Communication, dated October 5, 1938.
[6] Minutes, IODE Provincial Chapter, Annual General Meeting, April 7, 8 & 9 1942.

with your approval, perhaps you will write us again."[7] What we see here is an example of a senior government official seeking the approval of the IODE. The close relationship between the Order and Dr. W.W. Cross, the Social Credit Minister of Health and Welfare, in the period 1937-1938 is also well documented. At an Executive Committee Meeting on December 19, 1938, a letter was received from Cross stating that the "Minister has agreed to increase the telephone pass of the President [IODE] to $20.00 a month and make a contribution of $100.00 towards our present indebtedness to the Telephone Company."[8] In correspondence discussed in an earlier meeting on December 16, 1937, reference is made to the honouring of a long distance telephone pass for Mrs. R.C. Marshall, Provincial President, for the following year.[9] The Provincial Chapter of the IODE maintained a close connection to other Cabinet Ministers as well. In 1944, a letter was received from the Alberta Minister of Education, Solon Low, " thanking us for sending him our resolution and stating that he does not favor such discriminatory legislation and that no such changes will be presented to the house."[10] The issue was the practice of hiring only single females as public school teachers. Copies of the resolution, passed by the IODE regarding this practice, had been sent to the Premier, Solon Low, Mrs.C.R.Wood MLA, The Alberta Teachers Association, and six Alberta newspapers.[11] This gives us some indication of the sphere of influence of the Order. The resolution praised the Alberta Government as a leader in recognizing "the contribution of women to the state." The resolution stated that "the women of this Province would vigorously oppose any effort to induce the government to vary its established policy of complete equality between the sexes" and demanded that women

[7] IODE Correspondence, April 8, 1940.
[8] IODE Correspondence, December 19, 1938.
[9] IODE Correspondence, December 16, 1937.
[10] Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Provincial IODE Chapter of Alberta, February 17, 1944.
[11] Minutes, IODE Executive Meeting, 1944.

teachers, like other professionals, should "be allowed to practice their profession without prejudice and with the same privileges of men irrespective of their marital status."[12]

The Alberta chapter of the IODE shared several similarities with the Social Credit Party besides their middle class values. The first was the commitment of both to the role of volunteer and charitable organizations in the delivery of welfare services. The second was the strength of their anti-communist sentiment. A concern regarding the increase in pro-communist votes in the 1940 Federal election in the Town of Vegreville was expressed in an IODE resolution which called for action on the part of the Aberhart government. Apparently, in that election there were 2,700 votes cast for the Communists, an increase of 700 over the previous election. It is highly likely that the resolution refers to votes cast for both the Labour Progressive Party and the CCF Party. Like Aberhart and the Alberta public generally, the Order seemed to have difficulty differentiating between Communists and Socialists. Although IODE views were certainly compatible with Aberhart's and Manning's strong anti-socialist views, their anti- welfare state views were not as eagerly supported, as the Order had concerns that went beyond simple semantics. In this specific resolution, the IODE urged the government to deal with the matter of patriotism by instituting "a definite program of instruction along patriotic lines into the program of studies for teachers in the Normal School System."[13]

In the years following the Great Depression and the Second World War, two parallel trends became evident. There was a shift in ideology which left the belief in a residual system of welfare provision somewhat eroded. Dennis Guest refers to the slow transition from an individualistic approach to resolving social problems, to a collectivistic one, and

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[12] Minutes, IODE Executive Meeting, 1944
[13] Minutes, Executive Provincial Committee IODE, 1942.

uses the example of the 1914 Ontario workers' compensation legislation to illustrate this transition. Guest states:

> The advent of the first provincial workers' compensation programs in 1914 produced what might be described as a hairline crack [in the residual mould]. Veterans' pensions, minimum wage legislation, old age pensions, and other federal and provincial initiatives suggest more cracking, but the mould remained intact. Even the convulsions of the greatest economic depression in Canadian history did not cause it to shatter. This would require the cataclysm of the Second World War.[14]

During the war, this new approach to social welfare was expressed in the British Beveridge Report of 1942 and its Canadian version, the Marsh Report of 1943. A central feature of both reports was the promise of a national minimum of social security. This minimum included family allowances, contributory health insurance, and a contributory Old Age Pension scheme. When the federal government of Mackenzie King legislated Family Allowances in 1944, Canada was well on its way to becoming a full-fledged welfare state.

In Alberta, a second trend, which has been obscured in most historical accounts, was the phenomenal growth and sophistication of the voluntary and charitable sector. This growth can be seen in the establishment in 1940 of a coordinating body, the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies (later renamed the Edmonton Social Planning Council) to integrate and organize these services in the Edmonton area. By 1943 this organization had become a powerful force in the life of the province.

Like other provincial governments, the Social Credit Government had responded to the Depression and the war by setting up reconstruction committees at various [provincial

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[14] Dennis Guest, The Emergence of Social Security in Canada, 3rd ed. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), p. 102.

government] departmental levels."[15] In 1943, Cornelia Wood, Social Credit MLA for Stony Plain, was named chairperson of the Reconstruction Committee on Social Welfare in the Province of Alberta. Her commitment to maintaining minimal government state welfare policy initiatives was in keeping with the philosophy of the Party. Wood, who was known for her anti-Semitic, pro-monetary policy views, was one of a very few Douglasites who was able to work within Manning's system of governmental reform. As Chairperson of the Social Reconstruction Committee, Wood held views that were antithetical to welfare state policies. She deplored the possibility of Albertans becoming dependent on welfare. Her committee proposed a series of welfare programs to offset the effects of poverty.[16] However, by 1944 "there was a broad range of programs available to Albertans."[17] These programs were directed to serving the needs of the dependent poor, a traditional, residual focus of welfare delivery in the province.

While the Social Credit Government continued to challenge welfare state initiatives, its dependence on the volunteer sector increased. With the Provincial government continuing to maintain its traditional style of social services delivery, "the conflicting powers and ill-defined relationships in the half-matured growth of provincial-municipal and public and voluntary welfare services in the Province began to clash and buckle under the strain."[18] There were, however, concerns about some child welfare issues, such as childcare and child protection. The Provincial government tried to meet these concerns by setting up a

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[15] David Lysne, "Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," (MA thesis, University of Alberta, Department of History, 1966), p. 151.
[16] Leslie Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program (Department of Recreation Administration Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation 1978), p. 40.
[17] See Leslie Bella, "The Politics of a Right-Wing Welfare State" (PHD Thesis, University of Alberta, 1981), p. 40; Bob Hesketh, Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1977) p. 74, 228, 234.
[18] Welfare in Alberta: The Report of a study undertaken by the Imperial Order of the daughters of the Empire, Alberta Provincial Chapter, Edmonton, 1947, p. 20.

Child Welfare Committee of Inquiry in 1943. Unfortunately, this committee was composed mainly of government officials who were committed to maintaining the status quo. The committee concluded that the current system of child welfare was functional. It "not only commended existing trends but made suggestions ...to extend the powers of provincial centralization."[19] The government went further and adopted legislation in 1944 which sanctioned the arbitrary powers held by the Public Welfare officials and supported the continuation of the systems in place in both municipal and voluntary services. In essence, the loosely defined arbitrary system would continue as it had before.[20]

In late May 1943, following the death of William Aberhart, Ernest Manning was elected leader of the Social Credit Party and became Premier. It was Premier Manning who found it necessary to adopt new social policies as a result of a report on Alberta's social welfare services sponsored by the Alberta IODE, one of the government's strongest supporters.

Premier Ernest Manning, the man faced with the challenge of resolving the crisis in welfare reform, like his predecessor William Aberhart, was a brilliant and successful radio evangelist. Manning portrayed himself as the savior of the free enterprise system against the evils of socialism. To Manning there was little difference between socialism and communism. Influenced by the Douglasite tradition, the Premier accepted entirely the belief that there was "no significant difference between the Marxian socialism [Douglas] had associated with Russia, and the national socialism of Germany, or even English socialism."[21] However, his administrative ability and popularity allowed him a greater degree of latitude in dealing with political issues. Despite different management styles, both

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[19] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. 20.
[20] See IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, pp X--XXIV; Marsha Mildon, A Wealth of Voices, The Edmonton Social Planning Council 1940-1990, (Edmonton: Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1990), pp 32-34.
[21] Hesketh, Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit, p. 206.

Aberhart and Manning had a great deal in common, although Manning was the more conservative of the two.[22]

After his appointment as Premier of Alberta, Manning instituted free maternity benefits and a revised Child Welfare Act in an effort to offset the increasing popularity of the CCF Party, and to accommodate the growing demand for federal standards in provincial welfare reform. Buoyed by a successful election result in 1944, Manning was later able to put to rest the no longer acceptable anti-Semitic views of Douglas by dissolving the Social Credit Board dominated by Douglasite supporters. By the late 1940's Manning had solidified his position and his popularity.[23] Unfortunately for Manning, even the strength of his public appeal did not protect him against the growing demand to improve the Province's social welfare system.

To understand the unique relationship between the Social Credit Government and the voluntary sector, specifically the IODE during the period 1936-1960, it is necessary to understand the ideological basis of the Social Credit Party itself. There has been a considerable amount of literature, both historical and otherwise, regarding the Social Credit phenomenon and why it had established itself so firmly in the hearts and minds of Albertans prior to the end of the Second World War. The political climate in Alberta in the first three decades of provincial status did not lend itself to any divergence from its right wing, laissez-faire roots. As discussed, the social legislation of the Liberal administration (1905-1921) and the United Farmers of Alberta administration (1921-1935) remained within the parameters of a market driven economy and a residual approach to welfare matters.

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[22] Ibid., p. 208.
[23] Alvin Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press 1989) pp 96-99.

To all appearances, the Social Credit ideology differed little from its predecessors, the Liberal Party and the United Farmers of Alberta, except for its monetary policies. Major Clifford Hugh Douglas, a Scottish engineer, developed the monetary concepts that formed the basis of the Party's ideology, although Aberhart developed his own interpretation of Douglas's monetary ideas.[24] During the Depression, however, " a complex of mutually reinforcing factors, economic, political and ideological made the province of Alberta a fertile environment for the growth of a Social Credit movement."[25]

The 1935 Social Credit electoral victory under the leadership of William Aberhart ushered in a more recognized role for the voluntary sector in social welfare matters. The economic effects of the Depression and the increased social concerns for the poor began to undermine the residual views on poverty held by the Social Credit government. To mitigate the effects of the Depression, the Aberhart government put in place new social legislation in an attempt to ameliorate escalating social problems, while at the same time looking increasingly towards the voluntary sector to offset the costs of many social programs. To complicate matters further the anti-welfare state position of the Social Credit Party was so inflexible that in Manning's election campaign of 1944 "the Social Credit Party for the first time represented itself as a champion of the free enterprise system against the threat of socialism."[26]

Much of the early success of the Party can be traced to its charismatic leadership. The first leader of the Social Credit Party was William Aberhart. Aberhart was a talented educator and speaker, imbued with self-confidence and an ability to market the ideals of the

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[24] Guest, Emergence of Social Security, p. 49.
[25] Carlo Caldarola, " The Social Credit in Alberta 1935-1971, in Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers, Carlo Caldarola, ed.(Toronto: Methuen Publications 1979) p. 35.
[26] Ibid., p. 43.

Party. This ability, combined with his success as a radio evangelist in the late 1920's and the 1930's, allowed him to reach "an estimated audience of half a million every Sunday."[27] By 1935, most Albertans had been influenced by this remarkable man. It was Aberhart who would take Douglas's concept on monetary reform and translate it into a political reality. In spite of the fact Aberhart's monetary legislation was ultimately declared ultra vires by the courts, because it contravened the Federal Government's powers, the momentum these monetary concepts had garnered, coupled with the Party's dynamic leadership, would allow the Party to enjoy a sound base of support up until the late 1960's.

[27] Ibid. pp 37-43.

CHAPTER 3

THE 1947 WELFARE IN ALBERTA REPORT

As the demand for social services increased both during and after the Great Depression, new voluntary organizations were formed and existing agencies expanded to fill growing gaps in social services. The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) was one of the agencies that was increasing its activities. The IODE was established in 1900 to promote patriotism through service to Britain and the Empire.[1] After attending to their primary duty of assisting soldiers and their families during the Boer War and WW1, the IODE turned its attention to the educational system in Canada. In Alberta, the range of its activities was remarkable. Thousands of members committed time and money raising funds to support libraries, to purchase school textbooks and supplies, and to award scholarships to outstanding students. Although it has been said that the Order was "imperialist by today's standards, class based, sexist and patriarchal," it was simply a product of its time.[2] The members of the IODE were "maternal feminists." This brand of feminism is defined by the conviction that a woman's special role as mother gives her the duty and the right to participate in the public sphere. As Linda Kealey observes "it is not her position as wife that qualifies her for the task of reform, but the special nurturing qualities which are common to all women, married or not."[3] The sense of duty that the IODE instilled in its membership was highlighted in its resolve to correct the inequities within the social welfare system in Alberta, specifically the deficiencies within the Alberta

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[1] May G Kertland, IODE, The Third 25 Years 1950-75, (Ontario, The Best Printing Co. 1975) p. 2.
[2] Nancy M Sheehan, "Philosophy, Pedagogy and Practise, The IODE in the Schools in Canada, 1900-1945," Historical Studies in Education #2 (1990) p. 307.
[3] Linda Kealey, "Introduction," in Linda Kealey, ed., A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880-1920, (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1979) pp 7-8.

Department of Public Welfare. The shift in service priorities of the Alberta IODE following the Second World War resulted in what may be its greatest achievement, their sponsorship of the 1947 Welfare in Alberta Report, and its effect on later Social Credit social welfare policies and initiatives.

The level of fund development and the province-wide affiliation of the Alberta IODE in the 1940's reflected the power and influence of this organization, as did its relationship with the Social Credit Government. In its fiscal year 1946-47, the Alberta Order raised the substantial total of $375,000. Although not all these monies were used for charitable purposes, this figure clearly illustrates the financial capacity of this group.[4] In comparison, in the 1946 fiscal year, the government budget for the provincial Department of Public Welfare was approximately three million dollars. In 1946, the voluntary sector covered approximately 40% of total provincial welfare costs in the Edmonton area alone.[5] By the end of the Second World War, the voluntary sector, of which the IODE was a part, was a major player in the delivery of social services in Alberta. In fact, "the 15 child-care agencies offering residential care of various types were all under voluntary auspices and had at any time in the last couple of years [1945-46] 1,050 to 1,100 children in care, with at least 1,400 children passing through their services annually."[6] These statistics reflect only a part of the sizable contribution made by the voluntary sector, as they relate only to the City of Edmonton and its suburbs.

The role of the IODE as a pivotal organization was evident when it assumed the responsibility of documenting the status of welfare in Alberta and publishing its findings.

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[4] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, The Report of a Study Undertaken by the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, Provincial Chapter (Edmonton, 1947), p. 197.
[5] Ibid., pp 9-27.
[6] Ibid., p. 84.

According to Marsha Mildon, the IODE took on the task because the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies did not have the resources to proceed with the overall survey.[7] In 1943, the Executive Committee of the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies, established in 1939 to facilitate the integration and organization of voluntary agencies in the Edmonton area, prepared a study on the status of child welfare services in the Province, at the request of the government. The Report of this study "made nineteen recommendations for the improvement of the provincial welfare procedures."[8] However, the province did not carry out the recommendation in the Report for a survey of child welfare services in Alberta. Instead, it passed a revised and consolidated Child Welfare Act in 1944. This move by the provincial government had serious consequences. The Executive of the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies continued to prod the government to take action on its Report, but the provincial government was committed to maintaining the status quo, and dragged its feet. Mildon states, "the scene was set for the [controversial] Whitton study into child welfare in Alberta sponsored by the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire."[9]

The Antecedents of Reform

The two main protagonists in the battle for welfare reform in Alberta were the IODE, as representative of the voluntary sector, and Ernest Manning as leader of the party in power. As Caldarola observes, Manning had learned early in his political career to be somewhat conservative in his approach to public issues. This conservative approach was reflected in Manning's abolition of the Douglasite Social Credit Board in 1948. "Social

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[7] Marsha Mildon, A Wealth of Voices: The Edmonton Social Planning Council 1940-1990, (Edmonton: 1990) p. 34.
[8] Ibid., p. 33.
[9] Ibid., p. 34.

Credit policies were now characterized by "centrism, pragmatism and caution."[10] In contrast, the IODE was concerned about the adequacy of social welfare services in Alberta, and determined to achieve professional standards in service delivery. Both sides were prepared to accommodate the prevailing attitude that there was a need for some governmental intervention in the process of welfare reform. However, the leaders of both sectors, government and voluntary, were at odds as to what constituted appropriate government action to improve welfare services. While the Premier hesitated, his government legislated a revised Child Welfare Act in 1944. The government dismissed the recommendations of the 1943 Edmonton Council of Social Agencies Report, including the recommended survey of current programs and services, claiming that the current levels of service were adequate. This move, sanctioned by Manning, frustrated the members of the Council, including the IODE.[11]

At an Executive meeting of the Provincial Chapter of the IODE on April 3, 1945, a resolution was proposed that outlined the deplorable state of child and family welfare in the Province, and stressed the need for a survey to document the situation. The Executive of the Provincial IODE agreed that this resolution should be presented at the next Annual General Meeting of the Provincial Chapter to be held on April 4 and 5, 1945 at the Palliser Hotel in Calgary. The preamble to the resolution asserted "that the people of the province do not approve of low standards [in welfare] and such treatment of our citizens."[12] The resolution declared that "this Provincial Chapter [should] undertake a survey of the entire province, "with the goal of raising the standards of child welfare in the Province and

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[10] Carlo Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta 1935-1971, in Carlo Caldarola ed. Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers, (Toronto: Methuen, 1979), p. 44.
[11] Mildon, A Wealth of Voices, p. 34.
[12] Minutes, Provincial Executive Committee IODE, April 3, 1945; Minutes, Annual General Meeting, IODE, April 4, 5, 6, 1945.

providing the necessary protection for children and families."[13] The resolution stated that the study was to include all aspects of social services in the province, although the major area of concern appears to have been child and family welfare. The resolution also proposed the appointment of a committee to supervise the project and to establish a fund to defray the costs of the survey. Each member was asked "for an additional donation of one dollar per member" to cover costs. The resolution received the unanimous support of the membership.[14]

At a special meeting of the Provincial Executive Committee of the IODE on April 19, 1945, a motion was adopted regarding the constitution of the provincial survey committee. Its members were the Provincial President, the "...Officers at Headquarters, conveners of Child Welfare and Family Welfare, Blind Work and Ex-Services Personnel, Mrs. B.E.Canniff of Calgary, Mrs. J.E. Petersen of Edmonton and the four municipal regents."[15] At another Executive Committee meeting on June 21, 1945, the Provincial President, Mrs. R. C. (Daisy) Marshall, reported on the activities of the Provincial Survey Committee. The Committee had met twice in the previous two months and "were now in the process of securing a properly qualified person to do the survey."[16] In the summer of 1945, Mrs. R.C. Marshall approached Charlotte Whitton to conduct the study. Initially, Whitton refused because she "was unwilling to proceed without government approval which was not forthcoming even after she [Whitton] met with Manning and Marshall in late 1945."[17] On January 17, 1946, a letter was received from Whitton requesting a meeting

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[13] Minutes, Provincial Executive Committee IODE; April 3, 1945; Minutes, Annual General Meeting, IODE, April 4, 5, 6, 1945.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Minutes, Annual General Meeting IODE, April 4, 5, 6, 1945.
[16] Minutes, Alberta Provincial Chapter IODE, June 21, 1945.
[17] Patricia Rooke & Richard Schnell, No Bleeding Heart, Charlotte Whitton, A Feminist on the Right, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987) p. 129.

with the Executive of the IODE. "At Dr. Whitton's request the fact of this meeting was to be kept confidential, suggesting that Whitton had reconsidered the IODE offer for her to direct the study."[18] Meanwhile, at the Alberta IODE Annual General Meeting held on March 21, 1946, a strongly worded resolution related to the original 1945 resolution, was brought to the general membership for endorsement, prior to being forwarded to the government. This resolution addressed the problem of the growth of juvenile delinquency in the province, deploring "the lack of action on the part of responsible authorities for dealing with the matter, [and requesting the Provincial government] to take immediate action to rectify this condition."[19] The resolution met with the approval of the IODE membership, but the Manning government appears to have given it little more than a passing glance. However, the Executive of the Council of Social Agencies did manage to convince the Child and Family Division of the Department of Public Welfare to "begin a smaller study of existing services for the care and treatment of juvenile delinquents."[20] Manning, however, had already rejected requests for an overall provincial survey of welfare services by members of the IODE, and did not place much significance on this particular resolution.[21]

At the semi-annual meeting of the Provincial Chapter of the IODE in April 1946," [it] was reported that arrangements have now been made with Dr. Whitton for the undertaking of the Alberta survey."[22] In September 1946, Whitton met with the provincial IODE Executive to discuss the survey. She also met with Premier Manning and stated that she would conduct a study, not a survey, but she did not elaborate on the difference. The goal

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[18] IODE correspondence, January 17, 1946.
[19] Minutes, Annual Meeting of the Alberta Provincial Chapter, March 21, 1946.
[20] Mildon, A Wealth of Voices, p. 34.
[21] Minutes, Correspondence, April to October 1945.
[22] Minutes, Semi-Annual Meeting of the Provincial Chapter, April 1946.

of the IODE study was, initially, to determine the best strategy for dealing with the mounting social problems, thus enabling the Order to develop for itself, appropriate programs to deal with these issues. In 1945, the Manning government had suggested that the IODE take on the responsibility of dealing with child welfare issues.[23] However, Manning was reluctant to have his Department of Public Welfare participate in the proposed survey. The IODE study was scheduled to begin on January 1st, 1947, although it did not officially begin until a few days later.[24]

Dr. Cross, the Minister of Health and Welfare, was annoyed by the IODE decision to proceed with the welfare study, and to have Charlotte Whitton conduct it. The government had not only refused to cooperate with the IODE study, but had requested that the voluntary sector do so as well.[25] There was, however, some indication of a difference of opinion between Manning and his Minister of Health and Welfare regarding the study. Despite the myths about Social Credit philosophy under Manning," the Alberta cabinet was a democratic organization, seeking consensus where possible."[26] An element of discord, however, became evident when, in the fall of 1946, the IODE received a letter from Dr. Cross that "was at direct variance with an interview that the President and Dr. Whitton had had with the Premier regarding the Welfare Study."[27] It appears that Ernest Manning was reluctant to approve a study by the IODE, specifically the child welfare component that could, and would, become a major political issue.

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[23] As confirmed in the Report on the Child Welfare Branch, Department of Welfare, Province of Alberta, (Edmonton, 1948). Hereafter referred to as the Howson Report. The Report discusses a request from the Provincial IODE for direction in dealing with social issues, since their voluntary services were no longer required for the war effort.

[24] Rooke and Schnell, Charlotte Whitton, p. 129

[25] See Royal Commission (Howson Report) pp 1-2; Rooke & Schnell, Charlotte Whitton, pp 127-129; Mildon, A Wealth of Voices, pp 33-35.

[26] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, p. 242.

[27] Provincial Chapter IODE correspondence, 1946. Although exact details of the discord are unavailable, it appears that Manning was trying to be conciliatory, but Cross appears to have been more intransigent.

The IODE, on the other hand, cared little about any political 'fallout'. At the meeting of the Provincial Chapter on April 9 and 10, 1947, it was reported that "a letter had been received from CCF MLA, A.E.J.Liesemer," expressing the appreciation of himself and his political Party for the Welfare Study undertaken by the Order."[28] However, for the members of the IODE, this was not a political issue, but a humanitarian concern. In October 1947, the IODE remained undaunted when faced with the possibility of legal action following the "appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into reports relating to the Child Welfare Branch of the Department of Public Welfare." At that time the Order decided to hire Mr. George Steer, a prominent Edmonton lawyer, to serve as Counsel.[29] In late August 1947, the full IODE report was ready for release. At the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Alberta Chapter of the IODE in Red Deer on October 17, 1947, it was reported, "further action would depend on the outcome of the Royal Commission Hearing that would [re- open] on November 24."[30] In July, 1947, the Manning government had attempted to pre-empt the scheduled official release of the IODE Study by announcing it would appoint a Royal Commission to investigate welfare practices in the province. The Commission would look into the most damning aspects of the IODE study, the criticisms of child welfare practices. By announcing that Commission hearings would begin on August 13, 1947, the government hoped that the public would focus on the government study and not the findings in the IODE report.[31] Newspaper reports on the progress of the IODE study, released in the spring and early summer, had already made the front page of the Edmonton

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[28] Minutes, Provincial Chapter IODE, April 9 & 10, 1947.
[29] Minutes, Provincial Chapter IODE, October 17, 1947.
[30] Ibid.
[31] See Patricia Rooke and Richard Schnell, "Charlotte Whitton: Meets the Last Best West:" The Politics of Child Welfare in Alberta 1929-49," Prairie Forum, Vol 6 No 2 (1981), pp 147-148; Rooke & Schnell, Charlotte Whitton, p. 130.

Journal.[32] The public was aware that there were problems in child welfare services, but it would take the adverse publicity of the later government legal action that would place the issue 'front and center' in the public eye. At the IODE Annual meeting of October 17, 1947, it was announced that any further action would depend on the findings of the Royal Commission. A letter of gratitude was sent to Whitton from the IODE, and an IODE Welfare Inquiry Committee was struck to discuss business pertaining to the Welfare Study and inquiry.[33]

Less than two years after the controversy that followed the publication of the IODE Report, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Chapter on January 20, 1949, a motion was placed before the membership to forward " a copy of the findings of the Royal Commission to Echoes, the IODE newspaper."[34] The Royal Commission findings had justified the IODE study. The legal costs associated with the government's charge of libel against Whitton do not appear to have created any significant stress for the Order. The IODE dealt with it as it had with other issues in the past. At a meeting on April 5, 1949, in Calgary, Alberta, a motion was put forward recommending, "that we budget one dollar per member towards the balance owing in connection with legal services [connected] with the welfare inquiry. [Those members] who have not as yet met their commitment, [were encouraged to do so as soon as possible.]"[35]

[32] Edmonton Journal, March 24, April 30, 1947.
[33] Minutes, Provincial Chapter IODE, October 17, 1947.
[34] Minutes, Provincial Chapter, IODE, January 20, 1949.
[35] Minutes, Provincial Chapter, IODE, Calgary, April 5, 1949.

Charlotte Whitton CBE

The IODE chose Charlotte Whitton to direct its study of welfare services in Alberta and to write the report. The relationship between the IODE and Charlotte Whitton was one of long standing. Whitton was an IODE member herself, from an Ontario Chapter of the Order. She was also a nationally recognized figure in the field of child welfare, as a result of her twenty-one year tenure as the first Director of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare.[36] Whitton was responsible for conducting the study and writing the report. Some accounts of Whitton's involvement in the IODE Study suggest that Whitton used the opportunity to promote her own political agenda and to enhance her reputation, which had suffered when she was forced to resign as Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council in 1941.[37] This may be partly true, but it is clear that at all times, she had a genuine concern about maintaining high standards in the delivery of welfare services, especially those in child welfare.[38]

Whitton had a good long-term relationship with Alberta Executive members Lillian Thompson and Daisy Marshall. The reports of IODE meetings in the 1930's indicate that the concerns of the IODE, mainly on child welfare, had been simmering, largely unresolved, for many years. Whitton may have been a catalyst, but she was not responsible for the climate of dissatisfaction within the Child and Family Welfare Committee of the IODE. The only major difference between the views of Whitton and the IODE can be seen

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[36] The Council was established in 1920 as the Canadian Council on Child Welfare. The Organization changed its name in 1931 to the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare. In 1935, it took the name Canadian Welfare Council, which it maintained until 1971.

[37] See Rooke & Schnell, " Charlotte Whitten Meets The Last Best, West," pp 143-159; Ted Byfield, ed., Leduc, Manning and the Age of Prosperity 1946-1963, Vol. 9. Alberta in the 20th Century: A Journalistic History of the Province, (Edmonton: United Western Communications 2001), pp 68-71.

[38] Rooke & Schnell, No Bleeding Heart, Charlotte Whitton, A Feminist on the Right, pp 67-82.

in the latter's refusal "to participate in Whitton's crude attempts to discredit Hill."[39] Charles Hill, Alberta's Superintendent of Neglected and Abandoned Children, had a reputation as a dedicated man, committed to the welfare of his flock. However, he was not, as circumstances would reveal, a qualified professional, and this did not bode well for the government, since Whitton had a strong commitment to professionalization in the field of social work.

The hiring of Whitton did not sit well with either Premier Manning or Dr. W.W. Cross, his Minister of Health and Welfare. Whitton's biographers assert that "Whitton was not only perceived by Manning and Cross as a symbol of Ontarian expertise, but [she held] views on social issues that were antithetical to those practiced in Alberta".[40] Although she was regarded as a symbol of Ontario's views on welfare, her views on sound welfare policy were quite conservative. She set forth these views in a 1943 study of social security in Canada, The Dawn of Ampler Life, which was commissioned by John Bracken, leader of the national Progressive Conservative Party. It is highly unlikely that Manning was not aware of her conservative views on social welfare. Her views on social security were not compatible with those held by Leonard Marsh and Harry Cassidy, two architects of the Canadian Welfare State. Her views were much more in keeping with those of the Social Credit Party than Manning cared to admit. According to writer and journalist Ted Byfield, what "made Whitton's charges against Alberta's welfare department especially devastating was that Social Creditors could not simply dismiss her, as they often did their opponents, as an atheistic socialist or communist."[41] As noted, Whitton, like Manning and the Social Credit Party, was deeply opposed to a centralized, bureaucratic government welfare

[39] Rooke & Schnell, "Charlotte Whitton Meets The Last Best West," p. 152.
[40] Ibid., p. 156.
[41] Byfield, Leduc, Manning and the Age of Prosperity, p. 68.

system, and believed strongly in community-based voluntary programs, a view that was consistent with Social Credit ideology.

Accounts of the crisis surrounding the IODE welfare in Alberta survey have tended to focus on the role Whitton, as the author of the study, and have thus obscured the role of the Order in commissioning it. In fact, it was Whitton who had urged cooperation between the IODE and the government, but it was the IODE that had made the final decision to proceed with the study without government sanction.[42] The IODE offer was, however, an opportunity too tempting for Whitton to resist.

The Report

The 1947 IODE Welfare in Alberta Report was a comprehensive review of the state of welfare services in Alberta. The Chairman of the Welfare Study Committee was Mrs. R.C. [Daisy] Marshall, a long-term IODE Provincial Chapter executive member. As noted, Dr. Charlotte Whitton directed the study and wrote the report. The Assistant Director was Ethel Dodds-Parker, a graduate of the University of Toronto School of Social Work, and a former Director of the Social Welfare Division, City of Toronto. The survey team consisted of a carefully selected group of nine social welfare experts. The welfare survey commenced on January 3, 1947, and the findings were officially released in late August of 1947.

The report summarized its findings and recommendations briefly in the introductory section, which highlighted the necessity of providing a reinforced network of welfare services to offset the effects of economic, medical and social problems. It further emphasized the importance of a well-coordinated system of statutory and voluntary services and the partnering of public and private agencies to maximize citizen input and

[42] Rooke & Schnell, Charlotte Whiltton, pp 128-130.

enrich welfare services. The summary stressed the significance of welfare planning at the provincial government level. Also stressed was the importance of municipal and community level involvement in the provision of services, although the report clearly identified the provincial government as the "unit of primary responsibility for Canadian welfare practices."[43] This section of the study also provided a brief overview of Alberta's economic and geographic features within an overall discussion of social welfare developments in the province.

The report then proceeded to assess the adequacy of existing welfare services. The study was critical of the lack of proper assessment of welfare needs, and in particular those of children, the infirm and the aged in the province. It highlighted the haphazard and arbitrary manner in which services were delivered, and addressed the dependency of the disadvantaged on voluntary services in Alberta. The Report devoted considerable attention to the situation of dependent and neglected children, specifically the need for preventive work in the field of child protection. It also highlighted the need to apply proper family social work practices, which focused on maintaining children in their own homes as an alternative to custodial care. The placement of children in 'free boarding homes' where they were required to work for their keep, and the callous practice of keeping children who were delinquent, and children who were neglected, in the same facility, were also discussed in some detail. The report gave the example of the Cromdale Centre in Edmonton, a facility for dependent children, but which housed adults as well. It was depicted as a "parking place for various types of relief, need and neglect with no provision whatever for anything but shelter and food planned and provided on the most elementary lines."[44] The report stated

[43] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. V111.
[44] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. 84.

that "there could be no other end of the road in a provincial welfare programme which had boasted of free family care, by adoption or foster placement, as its guiding principle [but continued to ignore] basic child protection principles and practices."[45] In the field of child welfare, the most serious criticism, however, was directed at the process of adoption in the province. Most unmarried mothers in Alberta surrendered their infants. "Only in some of the private agencies and in certain municipalities [did] humane officials try to help a girl keep her baby ...and [helped] her with maintenance, as need be."[46] Although it could be said that the apparent discrimination against unmarried mothers was typical of the traditional residual system that differentiated between deserving and undeserving recipients, the report asserted that welfare officials were also motivated by "a strong predisposition towards the cheapness of free care."[47] Another dimension of the exploitation of unmarried mothers was the issue of cross-border placement of children. According to the report, little if any concern was shown either to the mother or to the child. In Alberta, the situation was unlike any other province in Canada. The report stated that, with respect to the process of trafficking in, and exporting of Alberta's babies, the Provincial Welfare Department was the most culpable in this process. In addition, the study recommended that the court in every proposed child adoption should have the benefit of the report and the recommendations of the Provincial Welfare Department. According to the IODE Report, infants were taken from their mothers without any formal application being made to the courts. The report concluded that the Dominion government should immediately refuse to issue passports for the transport of babies out of the country.[48]

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[45] Ibid., p. 91.
[46] Ibid., p. 98.
[47] Ibid., p. 99.
[48] Ibid., p. 113.

The report also devoted considerable attention to the issue of juvenile delinquency. This problem was a major concern of the IODE, and had been identified in a 1945 IODE provincial executive resolution as being an issue requiring immediate attention. Ten recommendations for improvements in the field of juvenile delinquency were detailed in the study. These included the tightening of the judicial system, the limiting of the powers of the Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent children, the limiting of the waiting period for court appearance of juvenile offenders, and the establishment of training facilities for offenders.

Improvements in the municipal framework of welfare services in the province and the mechanisms for integrating voluntary services were also discussed in some detail. The IODE study recommended strengthening the role of the municipality in welfare services by establishing Municipal Public Welfare Boards. It also called for the establishment of welfare programs of a preventive nature.

According to the IODE Report, the whole policy for the aged in the province needed to be humanized, "with more emphasis on actual personal service, help and advice to those in need."[49] These services would be required to meet the standards of other comparable facilities. The study contained a scathing commentary on the housing situation for the elderly poor, and the need to improve standards of care for this group. According to the study, "it is a matter of ascertainable fact that the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals would prosecute, were dumb brutes to be housed in comparable conditions."[50]

Stressed throughout the document was the need to increase financial subsidies to those in need. However, the report also emphasized the need to "ensure conditions of work

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[49] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. 47.
[50] Ibid., p. 43.

opportunity" and to utilize the creative energies and financial resources of the voluntary community.[51] The provision of leisure time opportunities through a series of public and private agencies was also recommended. The preventive and interventionist nature of the recommendations was an important feature of the report, as was the directive to have the provincial government assume the major responsibility for welfare provision, within a framework of a coordinated voluntary and statutory system of delivery.

A significant recommendation from the Report detailed the need for discipline in the voluntary effort. The Report recommended a coordinated approach in partnering both statutory and voluntary service in an attempt to achieve a "moderate degree of integration among the general voluntary organizations whose goodwill and good hearts are not always self-disciplined into recognition and use of existing services and of the wisdom of trying to supplement and not supercede them."[52] The Report went so far as to recommend the need for discipline in the welfare programs of the IODE itself.

The controversy that followed the publishing of the IODE sponsored Welfare in Alberta Report prevented an assessment of the validity of its findings. Whitton and her cohorts had carefully sifted through mountains of data prior to publishing the Report. The government had done everything in its power to stop the IODE- commissioned investigation. Government staff was forbidden to release any information to the investigation, and the voluntary sector was discouraged from assisting the investigation as well.[53] In spite of these restrictions, the study was a comprehensive examination of Alberta's social welfare system. Recommendations from the study were considerably more valuable than simply a public relations strategy. In effect, the study provided the blueprint for changes in the province's

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[51] Ibid., V11.
[52] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, pp 182-186.
[53] Howson Report, 1948, pp 1-8.

social welfare system. What the study recommended was consistent with the federal trend towards institutional social policies, with one exception. The study advocated the provision of a wide range of statutory and voluntary services, although it did recommend that the provincial government act in the role of major service provider. As the study asserted, "nothing short of the full power of government can so plan and so provide for the social security of its people."[54] Although the study recommended decentralization of service delivery, it also emphasized, "that the Provincial authority be the unit of primary responsibility in Canadian welfare practices."[55] This statement reflected a major shift in social welfare policy in Alberta, from a residual focus on individual responsibility and a reliance on family, Church and charitable institutions, to a reliance on government as the primary agent in ameliorating social problems. Although the Social Credit government had been assuming more and more responsibility for welfare services, it had resisted what it referred to as socialist practices in welfare reform, notably the policy of government taking the major responsibility for funding welfare services.

The Royal Commission Inquiry

Newspaper releases on the IODE study in the early spring of 1947 in all probability led the Manning government to intervene, and to establish a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the report's findings. A front-page article in the Edmonton Journal on April 30, 1947 was particularly damaging. The article quoted Whitton as stating "in a five year period, reports published by the government had shown 70% of neglected children were

[54] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. V11.
[55] Ibid., p. V11.

made wards of the Province because their mothers were unable to support them."[56] Whitton made this statement in a speech to the Calgary Council of Social Agencies. In the same address, she claimed that 75% of the wardships made in the last year in Alberta were processed without a court order. Even more damaging was her comment "that no effort was made to help mothers keep their babies...a girl wishing to keep her child cannot get assistance unless she surrenders that child for adoption."[57] Similarly, a series of sensational articles in the Calgary Herald under the title "Children in Iron Cages" published between May 20 to 27, 1947 were also embarrassing to the provincial government. On May 30th, prior to the release of the Report, the provincial government granted free hospitalization services to old age and blind pensioners and recipients of mother's allowances and their dependants.[58] This move appears to have resulted from criticism levied by Whitton and the IODE, as investigators working for Whitton uncovered more and more damning evidence of abuse, not only in child welfare, but in regard to the poor living conditions experienced by the aged and the disabled. The research team dealing with the child welfare component of the study was discovering serious mismanagement practices.

In August 1947, the Alberta government announced the establishment of the Royal Commission Inquiry into child welfare in the province. On September 24, 1947 a front-page article in the Edmonton Journal announced, "an investigation of the child welfare administration in the Province started in response to criticism, will resume in Edmonton in November."[59] It had initially been scheduled to start in August, but was re-scheduled for late fall. According to Rooke and Schnell, in their study, the commission opened its

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[56] Edmonton Journal, April 30, 1947.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Edmonton Journal, May 30, 1947.
[59] Edmonton Journal, September 24, 1947.

hearings on August 13, and adjourned them until the fall, in order to accommodate testimonials and briefs."[60] The commission hearings resumed on November 24, and continued until the late fall of 1948.

Chief Justice W.R. Howson headed the three-man commission in charge of the investigation. The two other commission members were E.B.Fair, Judge of the District Court of Southern Alberta and Local Judge of the Supreme Court, and J. W. MacDonald, Chief Judge of the District Court of Southern Alberta. The commission was appointed by the Manning government and given the mandate to examine the IODE's study regarding practices in the child welfare branch of the Department of Public Welfare, and to make recommendations regarding these practices. In 1944, the Manning government passed legislation that created a Department of Public Welfare, separate from the Department of Public Health, but Dr. Cross remained the Minister in charge of both departments.

The Report of the Royal Commission, which will be referred to as the Howson Report, was released on December 3, 1948, and was supportive of many of the recommendations in the IODE Report.[61] At least twenty recommendations from the Howson Report were directly related to those outlined in the IODE Report itself. The Howson Report recommended "that the Child Welfare Commission proceed forthwith to carry out the statutory duties imposed upon it by current legislation."[62] It also emphasized the need to institute personnel training as outlined in Section 23 of the Child Welfare legislation. The Report stressed the need to implement procedures that would ensure the safety of children in adoption proceedings and called on the Department to recognize family case work as a

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[60] Rooke & Schnell, Charlotte Whitton, p. 130.
[61] Ibid., p. 142.
[62] Howson Report 1948, p. 82.

sound procedure."[63] The Report recommended that the Department develop partnerships with private agencies to ensure a higher level of service delivery to this particular client group. Two key areas of concern in the IODE Report were the pressing need for foster homes for non-adoptable children, and the discontinuation of the work home placement system. The work home system was singled out by Whitton and her team of researchers as a particularly onerous child welfare practice. Indeed, Whitton's biographers claim that Whitton had campaigned against this practice as far back as 1920.[64] According to the IODE Report, there were about 500 children placed in 'free' homes, mostly in the rural areas where the children were required to work for their board and room.[65] The Royal Commission recommended the "curtailment of work homes" and encouraged a more aggressive approach to finding and funding adequate foster homes.[66]

Another area of concern, outlined by the IODE Report and addressed in the Howson Report, was the need to deal more effectively and fairly with juvenile delinquents by improving the quality of detention facilities and shortening the waiting time for their court appearances. According to the Howson Report, "delinquent boys and girls ought not to be confined in a detention facility for a longer time than is absolutely necessary to bring them to court and to place them elsewhere after a Court decision."[67] The Commission responded to several other issues relating to juveniles, including the need to have Juvenile Court judges "carefully selected and paid by the Attorney General," thus removing them from the control of the Department of Public Welfare.[68] Also, in 1949, the government adopted a

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[63] Ibid., p. 83.
[64] Rooke and Schnell, "Charlotte Whitton Meets The Last Best West," p. 156.
[65] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, pp 81-91.
[66] Howson Report 1948, p. 84.
[67] Ibid., p. 84.
[68] Ibid., p. 85.

revised Child Welfare Act, which addressed some of the Commission's concerns. Following the ensuing controversy "the government began to assume a larger portion of relief and child protection" from the municipality. Although this was not in keeping with the ideal of a de-centralized system as expressed in the IODE study, it did result in an improvement in the quality of children's services, thus moving the Province closer to the ideal as expressed in the IODE study.[69]

The Aftermath: Blueprint for Change

In December 1947, an article, 'Babies for Export,' was published in the New Liberty Magazine. This article precipitated a response from the Manning government that was aimed at discrediting the IODE welfare study and its Director, Charlotte Whitton. The government immediately charged Whitton with conspiracy to commit defamatory libel against Charles Hill, the Superintendent of Child Welfare. Harold Dingman, the author of the article, and Jack Kent Cooke, the publisher of the magazine, where charged as co-conspirators. These charges followed a year of provocative attacks on the credibility of the Alberta Department of Public Welfare through newspaper articles, public meetings and interviews involving Whitton and the IODE, throughout the province and elsewhere. The Royal Commission inquiry into child welfare practices in the province was yielding results that were not favorable to the government. George Steer, the counsel for Whitton, managed to change the order of the proceedings by separating the charges, thus having Dingman and Kent Cooke tried first. Their acquittals led to the withdrawal of the charge against Whitton.

The Social Credit government's desire to control the press had received widespread publicity when it passed the Accurate News and Information Act in 1937, but the Supreme

[69] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, p. 43.

Court of Canada subsequently declared this legislation ultra vires on March 4, 1938.[70] The attempt to control distribution of the report once again raised the old issue of the Social Credit's attempt to institute government control of the press. John Diefenbaker, the Progressive-Conservative M.P. for Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, used the example of Alberta when he introduced a private member's bill in the House of Commons in 1948, which highlighted the issue of freedom of the Press. The trial of Whitton had barely begun, when the government, fearing for its reputation in proceeding with this unpopular action, withdrew the charges against Whitton in the spring of 1948. What had started as a review of welfare by the IODE had become a public relations nightmare for Manning and the Social Credit Party.[71]

Despite the controversy that followed the publication of their study, the IODE appears to have remained in the good graces of the Manning government. This was in contrast to Catholic Social Services, which garnered the wrath of the government for its role in the controversial study.[72] It would appear that the main scapegoat was Charlotte Whitton. Government officials, trying to distance themselves from the public furor created by the contentious document, often called the Report the "Whitton Study." A recent interview with Alberta IODE member, Addie Manning, who was actually involved in the Order at the time of the controversy over the 1947 Report, strongly suggests that the organization took

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[70] J.R. Mallory, Social Credit and the Federal Power in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), reprinted in L.H. Thomas, ed., William Aberhart and Social Credit in Alberta (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1977) pp 113-14. The Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta, The Honourable J.J. Bowen, reserved this Act for the consideration of the court on the constitutional validity of the Act, and its affect upon the federal government's power of reservation and disallowance of provincial legislation in contested areas. Subsequently, in January 1938, the Supreme Court of Canada considered the arguments, and by unanimous decision held that this Bill and two others were beyond the power of the provincial government, and were therefore ultra vires.

[71] See Rooke & Schnell, Charlotte Whitton, pp 138-142; Rooke & Schnell, "Charlotte Whitton Meets The Last Best West", pp 147-151; "Babies for Export," CKUA, Great Alberta Law Cases 11, LRC #1908.

[72] Leslie Bella, "The Politics of a Right Wing Welfare State," (PHD Thesis, University of Alberta, 1981) p. 84.

pride in the Report. Addie Manning spoke of the significance of the voluntary sector in delivering welfare services during the period and the respect the Order had for Premier Manning, despite the controversy.[73] She also spoke of the scholarship program for women seeking a degree in Social Work, instituted by the Order. According to Addie Manning, recipients of the scholarships were required to leave the Province to obtain their education.

Although there does seem to have been a temporary break in the Order's close relationship with the Manning cabinet after the controversy, it would not be of long duration. The Alberta IODE sent a resolution on poliomyelitis, which it had adopted at its annual meeting, to Dr. W.W.Cross, Minister of Health, on February 26, 1954.[74] This action indicates that it was business as usual for the IODE in its relations with the Manning government. In April 1955, R.D. Jorgenson, Minister of Public Welfare, in the Manning government, sent a message to the Annual Meeting of the Provincial Chapter of the IODE, expressing "his greetings on behalf of the Province."[75]

The move by Manning to reject the recommendations of the Howson Report, produced by the government's own Royal Commission Inquiry into child welfare practices, was a face-saving gesture, and little more. The die had been cast and Manning was well aware of the consequences of inaction. Newspaper reports had exacerbated the situation. In January 1948, Manning's attempts to sue Whitton for libel led a prominent Pastor, the Reverend John Quincy Adams, to admonish Manning in a letter. "Whomever it is that conceived and launched the libel charges against Dr. Charlotte Whitton sure pulled a political bone-head", wrote Adams. As a result of adverse public reaction, Manning was left with no option but to have the charges dropped and to concentrate on damage control. Manning's

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[73] Author's telephone interviews with Addie Manning, (no relation of Premier Manning) April & July 2003.
[74] Minutes, IODE Provincial Chapter, February 26, 1954.
[75] Minutes, Annual General Meeting IODE, April 14, 1955.

intransigence in refusing to co-operate with the IODE study had led to a situation, where for the first time in his political career, public opinion was not on his side. As Reverend Adams concluded his letter to Manning, "folks do have full confidence in the IODE, it seems to me... from humanitarian instinct they unconsciously swing wholeheartedly to a genuine belief in her."[76]

In spite of the controversy the IODE study had instigated, it was a document that went beyond that of inciting the government to action. The Report's criticisms of some of the deficiencies in Alberta's welfare system were, perhaps harsher than they needed to be. Several examples support this view. The Report asserted, "The whole concept of relief and assistance in the Province is unjustifiably harsh and correspondingly inadequately conceived and ill-integrated." It also stated "the Child Welfare Commission held and exercised powers without parallel in any country except Hitler's Germany."[77] And finally, the Report remarked that "it is doubtful, whether, in Germany or the USSR, complete autocracy in the nationalization of children and the assumption of parental rights has even gone as far."[78]

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[76] Cited in Rooke & Schnell, Charlotte Whitton , p. 141.
[77] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. X.
[78] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, p. 41.

CHAPTER 4

POLICY REFORM: THE MANNING GOVERNMENT'S REFORMS IN SOCIAL POLICY AND PRACTICES 1948-1966

The Royal Commission was appointed by the Manning government to investigate the findings of the 1947 IODE Report on child welfare services, although not on other aspects of Alberta's social welfare policies and practices. The Report discussed in some detail the origins of the conflict between the Manning government and the IODE on standards of practice. In 1945 the IODE had approached the provincial government for suggestions as to how it might apply itself following the war. The IODE had made major contributions to the war effort and had been searching for new direction when the war had ended.

The government suggested, as confirmed in the Howson Report, that perhaps "the field of child welfare was most appropriate."[1] The Order had always been involved in family and child welfare work through its various committees, but here was an opportunity to focus its attention on an area earlier identified by the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies as needing serious re-organization. The IODE was already familiar with the recommendations in the Council's 1943 study, highlighting the need for a province- wide survey of social welfare services. Therefore, the IODE proposed that it sponsor such a survey. As noted, the government refused to co-operate in the survey, wishing to have IODE assistance, but wanting no interference with the current system of delivering welfare services. The Order was "determined to proceed without government assistance or co-operation," as it felt that it had the responsibility and the capacity to correct what it believed to be some very serious

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[1] Report on the Child Welfare Branch, Department of Welfare, Province of Alberta, Here after refered to as the Howson Report, (Edmonton, 1948), p 1.

deficits in the provincial welfare system.[2] An article in the Edmonton Journal on March 24, 1947 stated that the purpose of the study was to "assist the IODE in deciding upon its own activities in the field of community and welfare services in the years immediately ahead."[3] The article made the claim that the proposed study had been strongly opposed by Dr. W.W. Cross, Minister of Health and Welfare, who was reported to have said, "the IODE sponsored Alberta Welfare Study is regarded by the Provincial government as entirely unnecessary."[4] This claim was supported by the Howson Report which had stated that the government would not cooperate in furthering the IODE study. The government had made it clear that it did not sanction the study. It ordered "its servants or other persons under its control to refrain from giving information," to those conducting the study and insisted " that the investigation remain within the law."[5] As noted earlier, the government also contacted volunteer organizations recommending that they, also, not accommodate the IODE survey. In the same newspaper article, details of correspondence between Daisy Marshall, President of the Provincial chapter and Premier Manning were reported. The IODE President expressed her frustration with the government's refusal to support the IODE study. She informed the Premier that the IODE Executive

> regret that the least measure of cooperation and in fact of ordinary courtesy is denied us in our undertaking. The government desired to extend no cooperation to the welfare study sponsored by thousands of women who constitute the Alberta Chapter, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire [6]

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[2] Edmonton Journal, March 24, 1947.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Howson Report 1948, p 10.
[6] Edmonton Journal, March 24, 1947.

The Howson Report had stated" that welfare legislation and practice have tended to become increasingly arbitrary in their assumption of extending powers by the Department of Welfare."[7] Although the Howson Report findings were basically supportive of IODE charges, both reports suffered the same fate.

The IODE study, which was vindicated in the Howson Report findings in 1948, signaled a new era in the field of social welfare development in the Province. It did not, however, lead the Manning government into the Welfare State. The Order had a vested interest in getting the survey underway and in bringing provincial standards up to the level of those at the national level. The IODE, formerly one of the government's biggest supporters, had set in motion a wave of protest that would reverberate, not only throughout the province, but also in other parts of Canada, the United States and Europe. The two powerful former allies had become locked in a serious confrontation. The success of the IODE campaign for welfare reform demonstrates its influence and capacity. The Order was no 'bit player' in Alberta politics, but a pivotal member of the Third Sector and a key proponent of social welfare policy reform.

Despite the contentious nature of the Report, and in spite of the fact that the Minister of Health and Welfare, Dr. W. W. Cross, rejected both the IODE Report and the Howson Report, the Edmonton Civic Relief Department hired its first qualified professional social worker, E. Stewart Bishop, in 1949. This action reflected the municipal government's awareness of the need for professional staff. The issue of professional social workers became a subject of some controversy that would later lead to the contention that the Manning government had rejected most of the recommendations in both the IODE and the later Howson Report. Although Manning would later implement many of the

[7] Howson Report 1948, p 61.

recommendations, albeit, incrementally, he was not willing at that time to make any changes in the staffing of the Health and Welfare Department. The Superintendent of Child and Family Welfare, Charles Hill, remained in his position, although several changes did occur in department policies and practices.[8] In 1952, L.C. Halmrast was appointed Minister of Public Welfare, but shortly thereafter Halmrast was moved to the Agricultural portfolio and replaced by R.D. Jorgenson in 1954.[9] Dr. Cross remained Minister of Public Health until his retirement in 1957. Cross, a qualified physician, was first elected to the Alberta Legislature as a Socred in the 1935 election. He was re-elected again in 1940, 1944, 1948, 1952 and 1955.[10] In spite of his resistance to the IODE study and subsequent recommendations, several reforms did occur during his tenure, including a revised Child Welfare Act in 1949. Although this Act indirectly led to further centralized child welfare services, it also improved them.[11]

The IODE Report had recommended a return to the community-based system of Children's Aid Societies. Since the 1930's, public opposition to centralization of Child Welfare Services had been growing. However, the government rejected the IODE recommendation and further centralized child welfare services. Nevertheless, over the next two decades, the Manning government implemented most of the IODE-sponsored Report's recommendations for changes in child welfare services. The role of the IODE should not be underestimated.

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[8] See Leslie Bella, "The Politics of a Right-Wing Welfare State," (PhD thesis, University of Alberta 1981), pp 12-13; Richard Splane, "Social Welfare Developments in Alberta: the Federal-Provincial Interplay, in Jacqueline S. Ishmael ed., Canadian Social Welfare Policy: Federal and Provincial Dimensions, (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1985) pp 173-87; Leslie Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program,(University of Alberta, Department of Recreation Administration, 1978) pp 42-43.

[9] Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1948 (Ottawa: 1948), 406, and Ibid. 1956, pp 434-35, 449.

[10] See Who's Who in Canada, 1951-52, B.M. Greene ed., (Toronto: International Press, 1952) p. 998; B.E. Krewski, The Alberta Department of Social Services and Community Health: A History, pp 31-34, 406, and Ibid. 1956, pp 434-35, 449..

[11] Bella, "The Politics of a Right-Wing Welfare State," p. 93.

In spite of the government's attempts to influence the voluntary sector, advising against co-operation in the survey, the IODE stood firm, as did several other organizations, including Catholic Social Services. As one of the original members of the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies, the Order had a vested interest in getting the survey underway and in bringing provincial standards up to those at the national level.

Following the controversy, the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies, fearing for its survival, attempted to distance itself from the contentious report and re-instate itself in the good graces of the Minister of Health and Welfare by continuing to maintain contact with the Social Credit Cabinet members.[12] However, there is no indication from IODE correspondence and reports that the Order had changed its position on welfare reform. The controversy had not influenced the IODE to alter its course on welfare reform.

On April 5, 1949 the Provincial IODE Executive approved a motion to "recommend to the Annual General Meeting that any follow up action in connection with the [IODE] welfare study and subsequent events, be left to the Executive Committee for decision."[13] A second resolution highlighted the importance of both the IODE welfare in Alberta Report emphasizing the need to include all aspects of needed reforms. The resolution stated that "we recommended to the Annual Meeting that we commend the Report of the Royal Commission to the Public as a sound social document, which, along with the Report of the IODE Study, ought to be implemented in the field of welfare in all its aspects in the Province." The Order undertook "to use its best endeavours by all means within its power to raise the standards in the whole field of welfare in [the] Province by the fullest co-

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[12] Mildon, A Wealth of Voices, The Edmonton Social Planning Council 1940-1990, (Edmonton: 1990) p. 37.
[13] Provincial Archives of Alberta, IODE Executive Meeting, April 5, 1949.

operation with all welfare agencies, both government and voluntary."[14] The close bond that existed between the Order and the Manning government had been temporarily weakened while Cross remained in office. However, any long-term separation of these two traditional allies was not feasible.

Additional studies also illustrate the influence of the IODE study on the welfare reforms of the Manning government following the controversy. Bella refers to a 1949 Calgary Herald article and she asserts that" the opposition was quick to give credit to the IODE and the newspaper for [social welfare] improvements introduced in 1949." She claims that Alberta Provincial Liberal Leader "Harper Prowse alleged that the government had pretended that all was smooth in the Department of Welfare until the IODE and the Calgary Herald set a fire under the government."[15] Mildon cites the experience of Jack Anguish, Executive Director of the Council of Social Agencies in the period 1951-1954. Anguish was attempting to re-establish relations with the Minister of Public Welfare. Earlier attempts to discuss welfare issues with Dr. Cross, who was Minister of Public Health and Public Welfare, had left Anguish rather shaken. Following the separation of the portfolio of Health and Public Welfare in 1952, Anguish was called in to a meeting with the first Minister of Public Welfare, L.C. Halmrast. Anguish states that Halmrast introduced the discussion with the statement "I understand that our Child Welfare Program leaves something to be desired. Tell me about it." Anguish claims that "things started to

[14] IODE Provincial Executive Meeting, April 5, 1949.
[15] Bella, The Origins Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, p 42 citing an article in the Calgary Herald.

move" following this meeting. However, Anguish does state that these changes were followed by a period of inactivity when Halmrast was moved to another portfolio.[16]

Ted Byfield sums up the situation in his study of the libel charge against Charlotte Whitton. According to Byfield, in spite of the fact that the Royal Commission had rejected Whitton's more dramatic claims, such as the trafficking of babies, it had supported her less controversial allegations, such as out-of-province adoptions, professional training and adoptive and foster home assessments and her emphasis on decentralization. Byfield concludes" that the government implemented many of [IODE Report] recommendations but with marked ill-grace."[17]

The fundamentalist Christian roots of the Social Credit Party contributed to a genuine concern for the less fortunate, particularly those who through disability or age were not capable of work. This concern, however, prompted the provision of assistance to the needy through charitable or voluntary organizations rather than by government intervention.[18] Leslie Bella has contributed significantly to a better understanding of the process of policy development during the tenure of Ernest Manning in her 1978 study, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Service Program, and in her doctoral thesis, "The Politics of the Right-Wing Welfare State." These two works illustrate the divergence between federal social service initiatives, which were clearly institutional in orientation, and the residual social service delivery focus of the Manning government. Her analysis provides us with an appreciation of how the Social Credit Party was able to construct a social reality that is still

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[16] See Mildon, A Wealth of Voices. p 39 citing an interview with Jack Anguish. Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1954, 434-35.
[17] Ted Byfield, Leduc, Manning and the Age of Prosperity 1946-1963, Vol. 9 Alberta in the 20th Century, (Edmonton: United Western Communications Ltd. 2001) pp 70-71.
[18] See Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program , pp 150-157, David Edgar Lysne, "Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," pp 15-23.

part of Alberta's political culture to this day. Her exhaustive analysis of the ideological framework within which social policies were developed and instituted, provides us with an understanding of the public discourse that provided legitimacy and support to Social Credit social welfare policies.

Leslie Bella's contention that political ideology does not explain the expansion of provincial welfare programs in Alberta is a valid assessment, given the complexity of the factors influencing social welfare developments. Her claim that public opposition to the Social Credit Government in provincial politics was minimal is a fair assessment of the political situation during that period, given the large majority of legislative seats won by Socreds in the elections. However, there are some aspects of Bella's analysis that need to be questioned. Bella's view that the welfare reforms "did not result from pressure group activity and that these groups did not have the 'ear' of the rural based Social Credit Party," cannot be sustained in view of the historical and close relationship between the Social Credit government and the voluntary sector.[19] IODE correspondence from this period indicates that Premier Manning and his cabinet continued to interface with the IODE and the wider voluntary sector in the 1950's and 1960's.[20] Bella argues that 'the impetus for change' that led to the funding of provincial welfare programs in the early 1960's came from government bureaucrats. She contends that their experience in serving clients of provincial programs led to the influencing of government ministers, and indirectly, to the legislating of state-funded policies. This perspective poses more questions than answers.[21]

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[19] Welfare in Alberta : The Report of a Study Undertaken by the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, Alberta Provincial Chapter, Edmonton, 1947, p. 7.
[20] IODE Minutes, Correspondence, 1951-1964.
[21] Bella," The Politics of A Right Wing Welfare State", Abstract.

This study of the Alberta IODE and its Welfare in Alberta Report, contradicts Bella's contention that interest group activity had no bearing on welfare state initiatives during Manning's tenure as Premier. Bella has identified interest group activity within very narrow parameters, but has neglected to incorporate the significant influence of the voluntary and charitable sector. Research into the history of the charitable sector indicates that it was a major service provider, and an advocate for change. Bella's claim that Social Credit strength was rural, as opposed to urban is well substantiated, but this analysis fails to incorporate the influence of the voluntary sector in both areas. During this period, the volunteer sector was not confined to urban centers, but had a strong rural base of support as well, so that this sector had a broad range of influence throughout the province. In 1947, for example, the Alberta IODE had a total membership of several thousand in approximately 118 Chapters in 50 centers throughout the Province. There were so many branches of the Order during the period in question that even the tiny hamlet of Bowden could support a Branch. Also significant was the Alberta IODE's affiliation with the national organization. The Provincial Branch, therefore, did not operate in isolation from ideas and strategies in other parts of the country. The socially conscious middle-class women who constituted the membership of the Order were but one example of the dynamics of the voluntary sector, within a framework of the proliferation of voluntary organizations and charities, providing services to the needy. As outlined earlier, these women were not only engaged in service provision but were also key constituents of the Social Credit Party itself. Bella's study of the impetus for change in social welfare policy initiatives illustrates the complexity of the process. It is necessary to consider all

dimensions equally, as the "important dimensions of any analysis of social welfare are that it be comparative, theoretical and historical."[22]

Historian Richard Splane is in agreement with Bella on the issue of the delay in implementing welfare reforms in the 1950's.[23] His analysis of the situation regarding a lack of professional social workers also concurs with Bella's. A more recent study by Marsha Mildon is supportive of the position of Splane and Bella. However, Mildon delves into the issue of the IODE study of 1947 and the impact it had on government welfare policy initiatives. Bella has argued, in her 1978 study, that the IODE study had no bearing on later reforms. However, she also made the statement that the Royal Commission Report on the IODE Study sustained many of the IODE's findings. In her 1990 history of the Edmonton Social Planning Council, Mildon asserts that the Commission's 1948 Report "supported almost all of Dr. Whitton's findings.[24]

The controversy created by these studies suggests that further research into this issue is required. Following the Royal Commission Report the government moved quickly to make appropriate changes in child welfare services, despite Manning's claim that the IODE study had no bearing on these changes. The Child Welfare Act of 1949 gave the Provincial Government more responsibility in the field of child welfare. This Act carried out the IODE Report's recommendation that the government discontinue cross-border adoptions. In 1949 the government also acted on the Report's recommendation to increase funding for social welfare, by increasing funding to the Department of Public Welfare by 65%.[25]

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[22] Michael Lavalette and Alan Pratt, eds., " Introduction," Social Policy: A Conceptual and Theoretical Introduction (London: Sage Publications 1997) p. 6.
[23] Splane, "Social Welfare Developments in Alberta," pp 173-187.
[24] See Marsha Mildon, A Wealth of Voices, p 39; Leslie Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Service Program, pp 20-22.
[25] Bella," The Politics of a Right -Wing Welfare State," p. 12.

Historian David Lysne claims" that the social welfare developments of the 1950's in Alberta gave Alberta a wide social welfare base."[26] According to Lysne, these developments included disability pensions, widow's pensions and homes for aged, all financed by the province. Although Bella had argued that the study had no bearing on later reforms, she concurs with Lysne's analysis in her statement that "throughout the 1950's, the Alberta Provincial Government continued to make small additions to the Province's welfare programs."[27] Although it could be said that many of these programs were cost-shared with the Federal government, they were, nevertheless, implemented by the Province.

Although relief and child protection programs remained under municipal control, the Province did assume more financial responsibility for them after 1949. Given the political culture of the Manning government, these changes could be said to be progressive. The resistance to expansion of welfare programs, specifically welfare state programs, by Manning and his Ministers is well documented. The Social Credit Government continued to hold tenaciously to its belief that economic growth would eliminate the need for social assistance. As noted, Cornelia Wood, the Minister responsible for social reconstruction, had strongly opposed social programs that did not focus on developing a sense of self-sufficiency. Welfare state programs that would encourage dependency were frowned upon and viewed as antithetical to those proposed by the Social Credit government. Boychuk describes this orientation as a conservative regime of welfare provision, in which those deserving were often given priority treatment while those viewed as employable were seen as ineligible.[28] Hence, the government's ability to withstand the so-called socialist menace,

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[26] Lysne, "Welfare in Alberta 1905-1936," p. 152.
[27] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, p. 42.
[28] Gerald William Boychuk, Patchworks of Purpose: The Development of Provincial Assistance, Regimes in Canada, (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press 1998) pp 7-10.

as reflected in the federally led move to the Welfare State, is an example of the strength of this political ideology. On the leading edge of the social welfare reform movement was the voluntary or charitable sector, orchestrating the transition from a residual to a more generous and structured approach to welfare provision. This sector, however, was itself restricted in the scope of its initiatives. The success of the IODE in welfare reform was as much due to its close relationship to the ethnic, class-based, political culture in which it operated, as it was to its commitment to reform.

Some theorists have suggested that economic growth was a major factor in the shift to an expanded system of welfare provision, but it has also been suggested that economic growth alone cannot explain the change.[29] As noted, funding priorities have their basis in ideology, and economic variables may therefore not be a factor in expansion of welfare services.

Richard Titmuss views "the long post war progress of the social democratic welfare state as an immutable reality."[30] There is no question that this new wave of social consciousness that permeated the political culture of the Social Credit Government had some influence on its social welfare policies, as it had in other provinces. Alberta, however, had developed along different ideological lines. It would take considerable power and influence to undermine the government's rigid anti-welfare state position. It is here that we see the importance of class as a key variable in the process of change. According to Leslie Bella, there was "a link between the economic structural variables in the society [between class variables] and policy."[31] Further investigation indicates that Bella has identified a key

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[29] See Splane," Social Welfare Developments in Alberta," pp 173-187; Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, pp 46-47.
[30] Michael Lavalette and Alan Pratt, eds., " Social Policy," p. 4.
[31] Bella, "The Politics of a Right-Wing Welfare State," p. 72.

factor in the process of policy development. The Social Credit Party of both Aberhart and Manning was largely a middle class Party.[32] It was also a Party with strong ties to the voluntary sector, as evidenced in its relationship to the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. It was this organization that spearheaded the effort to influence many social welfare policy decisions of the Manning government in the 1950's and 1960's. Manning would draw on the recommendations in the controversial IODE Report of 1947 for the design of many of his welfare initiatives in the following decades.

The similarities between the incremental reforms of Manning in the late 1940's to the mid-1960's, and the recommendations outlined in the IODE study are indeed startling. In March 1949, the Edmonton Journal praised the Alberta government's decision to increase its supplement to the Federal Old Age Pension by $2.00 a month to $7.00 a month.[33] Premier Manning stated that this increase in provincial funding, was necessary because of the "substantial increase in the cost of living."[34] An article in the Edmonton Journal in April 1947 reported Whitton's remarks regarding the inadequacy of old age pensions and comments, thereon from the Provincial government, blaming both the municipalities and the federal government for the shortfall. Under the headline, "Charges, Denials Continue in Alberta Welfare Row," the government defended its position by claiming "all the power the pension board had was to administer Old Age Pension payments under terms of a federal act."[35] One cannot help but see the similarity between Whitton's strongly worded criticism and newspaper reports regarding the living conditions experienced by the province's

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[32] Donna M. Poekschke and Roberta E. McKown, "Perception of Class in Alberta," in Society and Politics in Alberta, Research Papers, Carlo Caldarola, ed., (Toronto, Methuen Publications 1979) pp 192-203.
[33] Edmonton Journal, March 8, 1949.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Edmonton Journal, April 24, 1947.

seniors, and Manning's decision to increase funding. The IODE study made recommendations on how services to this particular population could be addressed more efficiently, such as the establishment of "services in the home when necessary."[36] A very simple parallel can be drawn between the later Homemakers Services component of the Preventive Social Services Program and this particular recommendation.

In 1952, the Manning government passed the Old Age Assistance Act and the Blind Persons Act, moves which were consistent with the IODE recommendations. This provincial legislation related to the federal government's major new pension legislation, adopted in 1951. This legislation repealed the Federal Old Age Pension Act of 1927 and replaced it with two new programs. Firstly, the Old Age Security Act established a universal pension of $40.00 a month for all Canadians age 70 and over. This universal pension was entirely funded by the federal government and had no means test. Secondly, the Old Age Assistance Act established a 50/50 cost-shared program with the provinces that provided a means-test pension of $40.00 a month for Canadians aged 65-69. This Act required new federal legislation to provide pensions for the blind. The federal government had adopted pension legislation for the blind in 1937. Pensions for the blind were included in the 1927 Old Age Pension Act. Blind persons were eligible for a means -tested pension of $20.00 per month, the same as the amount for the old age pension. The cost-sharing provisions for blind persons were the same as for old age pensions under the 1931 formula- 75% federal, 25% provincial. The new legislation for pensions for the blind provided a means-tested pension for the blind of $40.00 a month. The federal government continued to pay 75% of the cost of these pensions, as specified in the 1937 legislation. So Manning's

[36] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. V1.

1952 legislation was adopted to take into account all these changes.[37] However, the decision of the Manning government to supplement Old Age Pensions was likely the result of the criticisms in the IODE Report and subsequent reports and newspaper articles.

It has been said that the implementation of these government programs was the result of cost-sharing federal assistance programs, but further investigations indicates that local provincial priorities often superceded federal funding criteria, and provincial priorities took precedence.[38] This is illustrative of the classic debate between supporters of federal versus provincial leadership in the development of social welfare programs in Alberta. Richard Splane, amongst a host of others, takes exception to Leslie Bella's argument that federal initiatives "were not a major causal variable influencing the consolidation and expansion of Alberta's welfare state in the 1960's."[39] It would appear, however, that Bella has identified an important issue that requires clarification. The social assistance system in Alberta is substantially different than that in other provinces. According to a recent study by Boychuk, "there are fundamental differences in provincial social assistance regimes and provincial assistance regimes have followed unique trajectories of development and continued to remain distinct."[40] The PSS Program, with its strong emphasis on prevention, has been traced to the work of senior government bureaucrats in the Department of Public Welfare. However, as Bella herself contends, "the board structure recommended by Whitton is remarkably similar ....to the structure of the Social Services Boards set up under the Preventive Social Services Program twenty years later."[41] There also appears to be a

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[37] Kenneth Bryden, Old Age Pensions and Policy Making in Canada, (Montreal:McGill-University Press 1974) pp 78-79

[38] Leslie Bella," Provinces and the Canadian Assistance Plan," Canadian Public Administration: 22.3 (Fall 1979) pp 439-452.

[39] Splane, "Social Welfare Developments in Alberta," pp 173-178 citing Bella.

[40] Boychuk, Patchworks of Purpose, p. 97.

[41] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, p. 157.

parallel between Manning's later focus on employment training and development and the recommendation in the IODE report that, "in its broadest sense welfare policy should ...contemplate trying to assure such conditions of work opportunity."[42] This recommendation proceeds to outline the basic requirements of the citizens that also include adequate housing, health care, education and recreation. The IODE study suggested that the government establish social strategies "along two major lines."[43] First, consideration should be given to services that were preventive in nature with the goal of strengthening the character of the people when factors of "an economic or social nature threaten or bring breakdown for the individual or his or her dependents." The study also recommended that "public provision should not be regarded as an emergency resource manned by volunteers or amateurs."[44] A second major focus for government in dealing with social welfare matters was its role as the primary agent in dealing with social needs. The IODE study strongly recommended that the government take the lead in establishing standards related to the delivery of welfare services. However, a constant theme throughout the study was the need for the government to coordinate an efficient statutory and voluntary system, a distinctly different perspective from that proposed by federal legislators, using the welfare state proposals of Marsh and Cassidy as their blueprint for development.[45]

The legislating of the PSS Program was aimed at accommodating not only the public, but Social Credit politicians as well. It is in the design and the popularity of this program that we see the distinct character of Alberta's social welfare regime. This Act that established the PSS Program was assented to on April 7, 1966. It gave full scope to the

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[42] Ibid., p. 26.
[43] Ibid., p. 26.
[44] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. 26.
[45] Patricia Rooke and Richard Schnell, No Bleeding Heart, Charlotte Whitton: A Feminist on the Right, (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1987) pp 111-113

'conservative' views of the dominant political culture of Alberta at that time. It represented the Manning government's attempt to put the brakes on federal cost shared welfare state initiatives. The main purpose of this legislation was the establishment of 'preventive' social services as opposed to those with the goal of eliminating poverty through direct subsidies. As a result, some features of a residual system became apparent. Firstly, there was the directive to the municipalities to establish and administer PSS. Secondly, was the understanding that the Minister of Public Welfare was the person responsible for "determining what constitutes a preventive social services program for the purposes of this act."[46] Also significant was the fact that this Act provided for legislation that was permissive and aimed at preventing dependency on welfare rather than attempting to solve the problems themselves.[47]

Many people in Alberta feared the centralization of welfare services and wanted more local autonomy at the municipal level. The fine-tuning of the PSS Program, with its original 90/10% Provincial/Municipal cost-sharing formula made it eligible for cost-sharing under the 1966 federal Canada Assistance Program (CAP) through the work of Duncan Rogers, the Deputy Minister of Public Welfare. However, the origin of the concept can be traced directly to the recommendations in the IODE study. There were, as noted previously, several factors influencing changes in welfare policies and programming in the 1960's. To dismiss the role of the Report and the voluntary sector, as having little, if any impact, is questionable, given the similarities in both documents and the range of influence and power wielded by the IODE and its affiliates in the proceeding decades.

The major goals of the PSS Program were aimed at preventing future dependency on

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[46] The Preventive Social Services Act, April 7, 1966.
[47] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Service Program, 1978, pp 44-45, 84.

government financial assistance, reducing child welfare intake by strengthening the family unit, and promoting social and physical well being. A key feature, that of strengthening the family through the prevention of marriage breakdown, would inevitably lead to less dependency on government financial aid. These goals would be achieved through the mechanism of preventive programs such as Home Care, Day Care Services, counseling, Family Life Education, Community Development initiatives and Head-Start Programs for children.[48] These programs were subject to municipally determined priorities, involved the voluntary sector, and were of a developmental nature. One cannot help but see in the Program a parallel with that proposed in the IODE study. The study outlined the necessary approach to its recommended process as one that required an in-depth understanding of the factors that create breakdown and dependence. The study suggested that perception of the procedures was required to develop strategies and programs that would lessen the effects of these precipitating factors.[49]

One of the other key areas of similarity between the IODE study and the PSS Program can be found in the study's emphasis on the need for discipline and integration of organizations in the voluntary sector, and the need for the government to serve as the coordinating body for the delivery of a range of voluntary and statutory services.[50] The IODE study recommendation that the government develop mechanisms for the support and utilization of volunteer staff, as well as the identification of which services could be operated by voluntary personnel and those which required a paid staff contingent, found concrete expression in the design and establishment of the Volunteer Services Program in the majority of municipally organized PSS Programs. The importance of volunteers was

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[48] Ibid., pp 69-71.
[49] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, pp V11-8, pp 26-28.
[50] Ibid., p. V11.

one of the 'hallmarks' of the PSS Program and its successor, the present Family and Community (FCSS) Programs.[51] The IODE study also commended the work of the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies for its efforts in coordinating the activities of volunteer agencies, implying that the government needed to maintain an ongoing relationship with the Council, which served as a barometer of social needs. The historical relationship between the Planning Council and the government was another classic example of the sharing of resources between the two sectors.

The study's recommendations for changes in Child Welfare practices and procedures were also quite substantial. It is true that the Social Credit Government chose the route of centralizing services for children within a Provincial statutory system, as opposed to a network of Children's Aid Societies as was the case in Ontario.

A major revision of the Child Welfare Act in 1925 had resulted in a broadening of the powers of the Superintendent of Neglected and Abandoned Children. In 1944 the Manning government further increased the powers of the Superintendent in the revised Child Welfare Act of 1944, and the establishment of a separate Department of Public Welfare in the same year.[52] Dr. W.W. Cross was Minister of Public Health from 1935 to 1957, and Minister of Public Welfare from 1944 to 1951.[53]Cross's responsibility for both departments and the arbitrary powers given Hill as Superintendent of Child Welfare, set the stage for the controversial 1947 IODE Report.

The original system in Alberta had been based on the system in Ontario, but had been slowly eroded over the period 1925-1935, with the Alberta provincial government taking

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[51] Family and Community Support Services, Handbook, Chapter 1, Program Plan, pp 2-6.
[52] B.E. Krewski, The Alberta Department of Social Services and Community Health, pp 31-34.
[53] Ibid., p. 34

over more and more responsibility for welfare of children in the province.[54] What the study did provide, however, was the criteria for an improved system of children's services in the province. The inadequacy of the Child Welfare Branch covered a wide range of matters from adoptions, work-homes and delinquency to the need for qualified child welfare personnel. Although the government had rubber-stamped the work of the Department of Child Welfare with its revised Child Welfare Act of 1944, it did, unintentionally put in motion a series of events that would lead to some major changes in its practices. A few of these changes can be seen in the amended Child Welfare Act of 1949 and a later revision in 1966. Of course, many of the changes did not come about through changes in legislation. The major criticism in the study was the inability of the Child Welfare Branch of the department to adhere to the existing legislation. Although the legislation required some fine-tuning, it was the practices of the department that had garnered the wrath of Whitton and her research team.

As noted earlier, Manning's reaction to the controversy that followed the publication of the IODE study was to increase funding to the Department of Public Welfare by a whopping 65% in 1949, the same year as the enactment of the amended Child Welfare Act. This latter move by the Manning government was very significant. One of the study's major criticisms of the Child Welfare Branch was its centralized, bureaucratic structure, which allowed the Superintendent of Child Welfare, who was the permanent chairman of the Child Welfare Commission, to control the policies and practices of the Child Welfare Branch.[55]

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[54] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, pp 14-16.
[55] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. XIV.

The power of the Superintendent was extended by his control over the Judiciary that dealt with child welfare matters. Two officials of the Child Welfare Branch sat as judges on Superintendent of Child Welfare, Mr. Charles Hill.[56] A synopsis of the 1949 Child Welfare Act reveals a few key changes. First, the word 'Superintendent' was removed and the word 'Commission' was substituted for it. Secondly, there was a change regarding the rules for adoption, in Section 14C of the Act, which stated, "where the child is not a ward of the Government, an order of adoption shall not be made unless the judge is satisfied as to the qualifications of the petitioner."[57] These changes, although limited in number in the 1949 legislation, were broad in scope, and lent support to the argument that the Social Credit government did make some key changes in the operation of the Child Welfare Branch, particularly in regard to the process of adoption. As we have seen, the IODE had been concerned that the Superintendent of Child Welfare had unlimited control over the lives of these children. This concern was dealt with in the amended legislation, which removed the broad powers of the Superintendent and placed the responsibility for child welfare decisions in the hands of The Child Welfare Commission. Section 14C recognized the need to have these matters determined by an independent judiciary. The IODE study strongly criticized the arbitrary powers given to the Superintendent of Child Welfare under the 1944 legislation. It highlighted the need to maintain the difference between neglected and delinquent children as neglected children were often maintained in the same facility as delinquent children awaiting judicial decisions about their future. The Superintendent was "appellant in every children's case, whether under neglect or delinquency cause, arbitrator

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[56] Ibid., p. 122.
[57] Revised Child Welfare Act, 1949.

over every municipal welfare officer, Chairman of the Provincial Welfare Commission, and Superintendent."[58]

The IODE study highlighted the weaknesses of the 1944 Child Welfare Act. The 1947 IODE study stated that "[the] Child Welfare Act is a codification of a number of legislative provisions affecting children."[59] The main issue was how these new provisions were to be interpreted. Robert E. Mills, a consultant with the IODE study, maintained that the simplicity of the legislation allowed for manipulation of its provisions to achieve departmental goals. Mills provided an example of how this simplicity had led to the treating of things "as similar that are quite unlike."[60] He criticized the placing of the Juvenile Court under the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Welfare. This provision created a conflict of interest, since the Juvenile Court was not the independent body it should be. The loosely defined parameters of the legislation had created within the Child Welfare Branch an almost totalitarian system, where, according to Mills," the responsibility for child welfare was not recognized as the common responsibility of its people."[61]

As noted, problems in the system had been identified in an earlier study by the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies, of which the IODE was a member. Mildon claims that the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies had become the "voice both for and within the whole community.[62] The Council had taken the lead in facilitating cooperative discussions and community development ventures with the Provincial Government in the decades that followed the controversy. As noted, the IODE study had recommended that

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[58] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. 24.
[59] Ibid., p. 122
[60] Ibid., p. 122.
[61] Ibid., p. 123.
[62] Marsha Mildon, A Wealth of Voices, p. 80. The Edmonton Council of Social Agencies was renamed the Edmonton Council of Community Services in 1950.

the Council take this role. The government had tried to distance itself from the controversy by its public refusal to accept both the IODE Report and the recommendations of its own Royal Commission investigation as outlined in the Howson Report. It required time for the IODE, in practical terms, to recover from the negative publicity that its report had generated. However, the government probably needed to adopt some of the Report's recommendations, since the IODE was one of its key constituents. Rhetoric and discourse following the controversy suggests that the incremental policy and program changes and Manning's new philosophical positioning in the following two decades, which he referred to as 'social conservatism', were little more than a thinly veiled attempt to salvage his popularity that been seriously eroded following the publication of the IODE Report.[63]

If one wishes to trace the historical path of welfare policy development in Alberta, it is imperative that one starts with the relationship between the Social Credit Cabinet and the voluntary sector. In 1958, following the beating death of a child by his father, a Welfare Information Service was established to fill a serious gap in welfare services. The City of Edmonton, the Province, and the Council of Community Services each paid one-third of the costs of this service, and the Council administered it.[64] The Welfare Information Service (WIS) was responsible for dealing with issues of child abuse and neglect. It should be noted that this was a voluntary sector initiative, a result of the Council's insistence that the (WIS) Program should be community based. Later, the Program evolved into an independent agency. In 1960 further reforms were introduced. It was at this time that the province took over the responsibility for permanent wards. The issue of what was meant by

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[63] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, pp 20-22.
[64] Mildon, A Wealth of Voice, citing Bishop, p. 75.

temporary commitment or wardship was finally addressed.[65] The IODE study had criticized the ambiguity of the term 'wardship'. "An unmarried mother hardly out of anesthetic," gives oral consent to have her baby made a permanent ward of the government.[66] The study addressed the need for the government to clarify its role in relation to wardship and adoption. It observed that "the mere fact that the child was left in the care of the Superintendent was held by him to constitute the child a ward of the Government." The study believed that such a procedure raised the issue of fundamental parental rights, which were transferred to the Government without even an impartial witness or proven scratch of a pen."[67]

As noted, the study had strongly criticized the fact that the Superintendent of Child Welfare was given arbitrary powers and that he was the appellant in the case of every child. To compromise the system further, two of the Superintendent's subordinates acted as judges of the Social Courts. The reference to the child welfare system as being worse than that in the totalitarian regimes of Germany and the U.S.S.R, infuriated the government and the public. It also gave the newspapers, and specifically New Liberty Magazine, an opportunity to capitalize on the issue. It would later place both Whitton and the IODE in a difficult legal position, with Whitton charged with defamatory libel.[68] Bella makes the claim that the government responded only to the criticisms in the study. Manning publicly stated that the study had no bearing on later legislative decisions.[69] However, the Provincial cabinet did take corrective action on child welfare policies and practices in the period following the publication of the Report. Changes were made both in the Act and

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[65] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. 128.
[66] Ibid., p. 124.
[67] IODE Welfare in Alberta, p. 24.
[68] Edmonton Journal, March 3, 1948.
[69] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services, p. 41.

department practices, although Hill was not removed from office. This latter fact is consistent with the view expressed by the IODE members who did not agree with Whitton's condemnation of Hill, but only with her critique of child welfare practices.[70]

It was, however, in the goals of the Preventive Social Services Program that we see the greatest similarity between the Manning government's approach to social welfare policy and the concepts outlined in the IODE Report. According to the 1947 study, community input was essential for welfare services. "The mobilization of welfare resources to serve all people in any community requires the thought and effort of both the publicly constituted, and the privately developed social agencies."[71] As noted, many features of the PSS Program reflected the ideas and recommendations in the Report, specifically the references to the importance of voluntary effort and the need for a collaborative effort between both levels of government and the voluntary sector. The IODE Report had also stressed the need for a municipal focus on social welfare policy.

There is another factor that should be addressed in any analysis of policy development and that is the management style of the government itself. Unilateral decisions were not consistent with the Manning government's style, although the Premier's initial response to the IODE study was somewhat autocratic. The Social Credit Party had also supported the municipally based system of delivering welfare services. Centralization of such services was not popular with either politicians or their constituents. As Bella observes, "the PSS Program of 1966 was designed by provincial administrators to counteract fears of centralization, fears experienced both by politicians and by municipal welfare

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[70] Patricia Rooke & Richard Schnell, "Charlotte Whitton Meets the Last Best West: The Politics of Child Welfare in Alberta, 1929-1949," Prairie Forum, Vol. 6,#2,(1981), p. 152.
[71] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, p. 162.

administrators in the larger centres."[72] It appears that the PSS Program, which was so obviously based on ideas from the study, was also meant to retain the support of the voluntary sector as well.

The process of social policy development is crucial in understanding the reasons for the shift from a residual to an institutional approach to social service delivery in Alberta. The PSS Program was an example of the efforts of Albertans resisting centralization of welfare services. It also represented an attempt on the part of the Social Credit Party and its constituents to retain some features of the traditional system, one that had more relevance to them than the collectivistic programs promoted by the federal government. For example, the goal of preventing family breakdown though prevention and early intervention reflected Alberta's focus on the family as the first line of defense in dealing with social problems. If the family remained intact, there would be less chance of women and children becoming dependent on government support. Boychuk's recent study emphasizes the differences in the social assistance policies of each province. For the period 1950 to 1992, he contends that provincial assistance regimes "do not appear to be significantly less distinct at the end of the period than at the beginning." Boychuk also claims that despite episodic changes, one can identify particular provincial orientations that persisted over considerable periods of time."[73] Alberta's particular orientation has been characterized by a strong emphasis on the family and the involvement of the voluntary sector in service provision.[74]

To appreciate "the trajectory of policy development" in Alberta it is important to understand its historical development.[75] The early pioneers greatly valued, self-sufficiency

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[72] Bella, The Origins of the Preventive Social Services Program, p. 160.
[73] Boychuk, Patchworks of Purpose, p. 96.
[74] Ibid., pp 75-77.
[75] Ibid., pp 58-62.

and independence, so it is easy to understand their belief in a system of welfare services that promoted these values, and their resistance to policies that would undermine them. The Province was also built on strong Christian beliefs that promoted charitable assistance to those less fortunate. However, these views were also based on the premise that it was possible to differentiate between those who 'deserved ' charity and those whose behavior classified them as 'undeserving.'[76] Therefore, welfare services were residual and government policies and services minimal.

With the onset of the Depression, the provincial government began to assume more and more responsibility for welfare services, while still maintaining the traditional categories of the deserving and undeserving. From 1946 to 1949 there was a province-wide municipal campaign, which included Edmonton, Calgary and Lethbridge, to pressure the provincial government to pay 80% of the costs of municipal relief. In 1949 the Manning government finally agreed to pay 60% of municipal relief. The provincial government increased its share of municipal relief costs to 80% in 1958, when Ottawa began paying for 50% of the costs of assistance for the unemployed who were not covered by Unemployment Insurance, and for those who did not qualify for UI. [77]

Bella asserts that the "anti-socialist element dominated social credit's philosophy throughout the 1940's and the 1950's."[78] The rhetoric of Manning, particularly his strong anti-collectivistic speeches, continued to maintain this perception. According to Bella, Manning publicly challenged welfare state initiatives well into the 1960's.[79] However, as Bella herself contends, "public expenditure [on social welfare] in Alberta was higher in

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[76] Ibid., pp 37-38, 74-75.
[77] Alvin Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta (Toronto, University of Toronto Press 1989) pp 12-121.
[78] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, p. 15.
[79] Ibid., p. 14.

1961 than any other province."[80] As noted, the strong anti-collectivistic rhetoric and ties to the voluntary sector, as reflected in IODE correspondence from the decade of the 1930's to the 1950's, suggest that welfare reform was, to a great extent, independent of welfare state initiatives. The importance of both statutory and voluntary services in dealing with social problems was a popular theme. It appears, that generally speaking, the public itself was reluctant to compromise the familiar relationship between government and the voluntary sector. In spite of the voluntary sector's growing frustration with its inability to provide adequate services to offset the effects of poverty, it continued to advocate a shared approach to dealing with the growing complexity of needs. It was the proportion of the costs of service provision that led to conflict between these traditional allies. The voluntary sector wanted the government to assume the lion's share of the costs of social service provision, but the provincial government, because of its determination to keep costs down, ignored its recommendations.[81] The desire of the IODE to acquire national standards of welfare in the province did not, however, represent a desire to recast the relationship between the government and the voluntary sector.

The process of developing welfare programs in Alberta involved a wide range of participants, although the process appeared to be more formalized in the 1960's, following the splitting of Health and Welfare portfolios in 1952, when L.C. Halmrast was appointed Minister of Public Welfare. In January 1954, Robin D. Jorgenson was appointed Minister

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[80] Ibid., p 46.
[81] IODE Welfare in Alberta Report, pp 97-100.

of Public Welfare. Jorgenson held the portfolio until 1963 when L.C. Halmrast became Minister of Public Welfare.[82]

Stanley Mansbridge describes the process of policy development in the 1970's, as a process by which the Ministers of Health and Welfare would consult with the Social Planning Council, the Legislature and the people of Alberta. Programs were modified through a process with "the Minister at the center of the web of advisory councils, special Interest groups, voluntary associations at both community and province wide levels."[83] This description of the process is similar to the one described by Bella in her study. Bella, however, suggests that Duncan Rogers, the Deputy Minister of Public Welfare in the 1960's, formalized the process of "provincial municipal co-operation" involving the union of municipalities and later the voluntary community, following the establishment of Preventive Social Services Advisory boards in 1966.[84] Rogers may have formalized the process, but he did not determine program priorities, since these priorities reflected welfare concerns of local municipalities, thus precluding the possibility of any senior bureaucrat taking responsibility for the overall design of policies and program. He or she is simply a cog in the wheel of a system that relies heavily on consensus with the dominant political views of its constituents. "Social policies are intimately bound to the societies in which they develop and reflect the priorities of those systems."[85] A key process in determining funding priorities within the municipally based PSS Program, for example, was the

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[82] Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1954, pp 434-35; Joseph P. Hornick, R.J. Thomlison, Lynne Nesbitt, "Alberta," in Jacqueline S. Ismael & Yves Vaillancourt ed. Privatization and Provincial Social Services in Canada (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press 1988) pp 41-71.

[83] Mansbridge, Stanley, "Of Social Policy in Alberta: its Management, its Modification, its Evaluation and its Making," Canadian Public Administration, 21.3 (Fall 1978), p. 319. Mansbridge is discussing the process in the 1970's under Premier Peter Loughheed and the Progressive Conservatives. The article was published in 1978 when Mansbridge was Deputy of Minister in Alberta's Department of Social Services and Community Health.

[84] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, pp 171-172.

[85] Michael Lavalette and Alan Pratt, " Social Policy," p. 4.

implementation of a periodic community needs assessment, and the presentation of proposals to the community based PSS Advisory Committee, from voluntary organizations looking for funding to offset the cost of operating non-profit programming.[86]

Another key variable influencing policy initiatives is the concept of resource interdependence. A 'critical element' in the operating of public programs is the sharing of responsibilities between government and non-profit organizations.[87] Although Judith Saidel's study relies on data from the United States, a close comparison can be drawn between the political culture of Alberta in the 1940's and 1950's and that of the United States.[88] It is also common knowledge that relationships are built on the concept of exchange. Each party in the relationship is expected to contribute 'in kind.' "Non-Profit Organizations supply their service delivery capacity, information, political support and legitimacy; in exchange, [the Third Sector] receives revenues, information, expertise... technical assistance, political support and legitimacy."[89]

The Role of Senior Bureaucrats in the Reform Process

There have been several studies undertaken on the role that Duncan Rogers, the Alberta Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, played in the welfare reforms of the 1960's in Alberta. Rogers was appointed Deputy Minister following the 1959 resignations of the Deputy Minister of Welfare, and Charles Hill, the Superintendent of Child Welfare. Charles Hill had been at the center of much of the controversy generated by the 1947 IODE report.

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[86]The author's own experiences in dealing with PSS And FCSS Advisory Boards and Municipal governments in Alberta in the period 1980-1998.

[87] Judith Saidel, "Resource Interdependence: The Relationship Between State Agencies and Non-Profit Organizations, (Thesis dissertation, Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy Department of Public Administration and policy, 1991), pp 380-389.

[88] Ibid., p. 381.

[89] Ibid., p. 381.

Both Splane and Bella maintain that Rogers, as the new Deputy Minister, played a key role in the development of innovative welfare programs in the 1960's. This view is open to question, given the strength of the political culture within which Rogers worked. The Manning government created the PSS Program in order to focus attention on programs that were aimed at eliminating welfare dependency. There was, however, a definite correlation between the recommendations in the IODE Report and the basic concepts that defined the parameters of Rogers's programs.

Boychuk puts forward an argument that lends further support to this interpretation. He asserts that very little change occurs outside of the existing political culture.[90] As noted earlier, the political culture of Albertans was very 'conservative' in nature, having more in common with the orientation towards social welfare delivery outlined in the IODE study, as well as with Whitton's very conservative document, the Dawn of Ampler Life, than in any federal welfare state initiative. Certainly Rogers faced a formidable challenge in turning the ideas from the IODE report into a reality. He had the task of developing tangible programs and services that addressed the need for improving opportunities for employment. He was also required to implement services that would be preventive in nature, with the goal of strengthening the character of the recipients, as well as preventing future societal dysfunction. A corollary feature of the requirement of developing such a program would be the identification of a strategy that could identify community priorities and a system that would serve as a clearinghouse for volunteers. The Social Services Advisory Committee of the PSS Program, and the inclusion of a volunteer services component in the PSS Program in most municipalities, were two examples of the work of Rogers and his Department.

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[90] Boychuk, Patchworks of Purpose, pp 114-115.

Richard Splane provides us with a closer look at the work of Rogers, a native Albertan like himself, and a colleague. Splane had a background in economics, history and social work and held the position of Director of Unemployment Assistance in the Federal Department of National Health and Welfare, where he met and worked with Rogers in the early 1960's. Splane was able to view firsthand the work of Rogers and his administrators in restructuring public assistance programs in Alberta. Splane was concerned about "Alberta's resistance to contemporary approaches to social welfare and the slow pace of its social welfare development."[91] However, as Boychuk maintains, the differences in provincial social assistance regimes in Canada are the product of differing social, economic and political factors that find expression within the dominant political culture of each province. The term 'slow' could be applied to the system relative to federal welfare state initiatives, but a more applicable term would be 'different'. The Social Credit Party of Alberta had its own priorities for welfare reform that were more in keeping with a residual, free market system with, albeit, some institutional features.[92]

Splane asserts that Rogers was influenced in his approach to welfare policy by his experiences during the Great Depression, and his involvement with two reputable leaders in the voluntary sector, R.E.G. Davis, Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council, and Norman Cragg, the Executive Secretary of the Council's Public Welfare Division. He also claims that in Alberta, "there was little support from the public for improving general assistance programs."[93] He fails to consider the role of the IODE Report in defining the parameters of welfare reform. The IODE Report of 1947 had identified the need for expansion of welfare services, as well as the means to facilitate the needed reforms.

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[91] Splane, " Social Welfare Development in Alberta," p. 177.
[92] Ibid., pp 4-11
[93] Splane, "Social Welfare Developments in Alberta," p. 177.

largely forgotten in this analysis is the earlier 65% increase in funding to the provincial Department of Public Welfare in 1949, following the controversy over the IODE Report. This infusion of funds had strengthened the capacity of the department to implement new and expanded programs.

The issue of the role of CAP does, however, warrant consideration. Splane comments on a discussion he had with Rogers in the early 1960's, when Rogers asked Splane to assist him in developing strategies for spending several million dollars in federal funds.[94] In his article, Splane says he first visited Edmonton in 1960 for discussions with Rogers about Alberta's utilization of existing federal-provincial social welfare programs, and the prospects for a new integrated public assistance program, which led to CAP in 1966.[95]

Funding Priorities and the Role of the Canadian Assistance Plan (CAP)

Alberta played a prominent role in the federal-provincial negotiations for federal-provincial cost sharing of provincial assistance programs. Negotiations for CAP took place in the period 1963-1966. The federal Liberal government of Lester Pearson passed the legislation in 1966, and the plan came into effect in 1967.[96] CAP was based on the principle that each province decided on the terms and conditions of assistance.[97] In spite of the argument that Alberta's funding priorities differed from those of CAP, federal assistance was a factor in the expansion of welfare programs and the development of new ones during this period. CAP funds allowed for the improving of administrative standards

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[94] Ibid., p. 177.
[95] Ibid., p. 177.
[96] Rand Dyck, "The Canada Assistance Plan: The Ultimate in Co-operative Federalism," in Social Welfare Policies in Canada, Historical Readings, Raymond B. Blake and Jeff Keshen, (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1995), pp 326-43.
[97] Splane," Social Welfare Development in Alberta: The Federal-Provincial Interplay," p. 180.

and scope. It could be said that under CAP," generally all provinces [had] increased the amount of assistance as well as the coverage of social welfare programs."[98] Alberta was no exception. Indeed, Bella argues that much of the credit for these reforms can be attributed to CAP. However, studies have shown that CAP was not the sole determinant of policy.[99] Mildon asserts that, "it was CAP which led to the Preventive Social Services legislation." However, both CAP and PSS were established in 1966, so that, although the negotiations for CAP may have been a factor in Alberta's decision to establish PSS, CAP could not have led directly to PSS.[100] Although CAP funding made the program feasible, the Provincial Government determined the criteria for the program. According to Bella, some program areas within PSS failed to meet federal criteria under CAP, but were nevertheless retained as part of the overall program and were subsidized by the provincial government. The primary long-term objective of CAP was the 'elimination of poverty', but its application was not consistent. This inconsistency leads Bella to suggest that the provinces dictated the parameters of the plan, with the Federal government acquiescing to Provincial demands. The PSS Program supports this interpretation.[101] The goal of the program, with its focus on services that prevent dependency on government assistance, and its commitment to involving the voluntary sector in the delivery of services, was more consistent with recommendations from the IODE study, than the broad goal of the elimination of poverty expressed in the federal CAP legislation. As mentioned previously, by the mid-1950's changes had already occurred that could be directly related to Provincial initiatives. Finkel

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[98] William Chandler and Marsha A. Chandler, "Policy Trends, "in The Provincial Political Systems: Comparative Essays, David J. Bellamy, Jon H Pammettt, Donald C. Rowat, eds., (Toronto: Methuen Publications 1976) p. 24.
[99] Bella, "The Politics of a Right-Wing Welfare State," p. 3.
[100] Mildon, A Wealth of Voices, p. 101.
[101] Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, pp 146-148.

claims "it was in the areas of social spending and highway building that the [Manning] government tended to win the hearts and votes of Albertans." He asserts that by 1960, Alberta had " an enviable program of health, education and social welfare programs."[102] Supplementary social welfare spending on old age recipients who met the means test brought an increase in the supplement from five dollars a month in 1942 to ten dollars a month in 1950, and to fifteen dollars a month in the mid-1950s. The CCF government of Saskatchewan, in contrast, had a sliding scale for these supplements, which ranged from $2.50 to ten dollars a month. However, Alberta did have much larger revenues than Saskatchewan. Starting in 1947 the Alberta government funded 50% of municipal costs of caring for the infirm and aged in approved homes, as well as providing for hospital and medical treatment to the blind, recipients of mothers' allowances and old age pensions.[103] All of these initiatives can be traced back to recommendations in the IODE study.

The debate between proponents of federal versus provincial leadership in expanding social welfare reforms illustrates the complexity of the issue. Splane's advice to be careful not to generalize about the factors influencing reforms during this period is well taken.[104] Additional funding by the Alberta government played a role in the development of these reforms, but there was, as Splane explains, a change occurring in management at the senior bureaucratic level at this time as well. Perhaps the convergence of a range of factors, such a the controversial IODE study, the hiring of new senior provincial bureaucrats with new ideas on progressive welfare programs, additional spending on social programs resulting from increased oil and gas revenues and federal cost-sharing for social assistance

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[102] Finkel, The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta, p. 122.
[103] Ibid., pp 122-23
[104] Splane, "Social Welfare Developments in Alberta," p. 186.

programs, provides us with a more realistic perspective on the development of new social welfare policies in Alberta.

As Bella asserts, the Canada Assistance Plan was an "essential element in Canada's welfare state."[105] However, the flexibility of CAP guidelines allowed for the funding of provincial welfare programs based on provincial priorities and Manning could reasonably expect substantial federal funding for social assistance programs in Alberta should the negotiations succeed. Federal funding for social assistance under CAP presented a tempting opportunity for the Manning government to implement social programs in a more cost effective manner. It did not, however, compromise the opposition of the Social Credit Party to welfare state programs. Manning continued to garner support for his attack on these federal government initiatives well into the 1960's, while at the same time relying on federal funds to offset the cost of social assistance programs.[106] Splane, from his experience as Director of the federal Unemployment Assistance Program, and his familiarity with the Alberta social welfare regime, has observed that the Preventive Social Services Program owed its existence to the availability of CAP funds. The question remains as to how Rogers and his staff were able to create a program that was preventive in nature and that contained so many residual features, while using federal funds that were 'earmarked' for social welfare initiatives with the goal of the elimination of poverty? There were, according to Bella, a few services within this unique program that did not, initially, fit into the general parameters of the funding criteria for CAP. Federal welfare officials were advocates of a strict adherence to federal guidelines. There were, however some important federal officials who were proponents of less stringent federal guidelines.

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[105] Bella, "Provinces and the Canada Assistance Plan," p. 441.

[106] See Splane, "Social Welfare Developments in Canada " pp 179-183; Leslie Bella, "Provinces and the Canada Assistance Plan," pp 439-452.

It was officials in the Department of Finance, the Treasury Board, notably A. W. Johnson, the Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance, and R. B. Bryce, the Deputy Minister of Finance, who were the most vocal federal proponents of flexible federal guidelines. As Rand Dyck asserts "in the end, flexibility carried the day."[107]

Splane, as a federal welfare official, addressed the issue of the magnitude of federal funds flowing into the Alberta treasury.[108] His reference to Rogers's request for help in coming up with some ideas to how to spend several million dollars in program funding, provides some insight into the extent of the Federal Government's goal of establishing minimum standards of welfare provision across Canada.[109]

The 1947 IODE Report appears to have influenced social welfare program design in Alberta more than has been generally acknowledged, and for obvious reasons. The residual features of the Report were more closely related to the political culture of the Social Credit Party than that of the Federal Welfare State. Manning, with his powerful rhetoric, had a profound influence on socio-political discourse in Alberta at that time. As Wiseman asserts, the "ideas and actions [of provincial politicians] may be seen as reflections of the popular ideological basis of their support," and may be "explained in terms which transcend quirks of personality."[110] As discussed in Chapter 3, the IODE report stressed the need for the Alberta government to provide increased funding and improved coordination of welfare services, not the replacement of the quasi-residual system put in place by the Social Credit Government. It must be remembered, as Michael Lavalette and Alan Pratt assert, that

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[107] Rand Dyck, "The Canada Assistance Plan," p. 330.
[108] Splane, "Social Welfare Developments in Alberta," pp 180-183.
[109] Mildon, A Wealth of Voices, p. 101, citing Bishop.
[110] Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Politics," in Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation 5th edition, R. Douglas and Donald B. Smith, eds., (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada, 1998) p. 306

"social policies are intimately bound to the societies in which they develop and reflect the priorities of those systems."[111]

It is true that senior officials such as Duncan Rogers and Norman Cragg were responsible for the development of innovative provincial programs in the 1960's, with the help of federal money. They were not, however, it would appear, largely responsible for the original blueprint that dictated the terms of those initiatives. The Social Credit cabinet did not favour welfare state programs. The Manning government established the Preventive Social Services Program, which contained a strategy for maintaining services with residual features. These residual features can be found in Britain's Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.[112] The main feature of the New Poor Law was the requirement that the able-bodied unemployed who sought assistance were required to enter a workhouse and perform some form of work. This procedure was designed to reinforce the work ethic.[113] Many of the able- bodied poor refused to subject themselves to this hardship. Alberta, unlike the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, never had a workhouse system for the poor. However, Alberta did have a regime of welfare provision that strongly reinforced the work ethic.

The IODE Report stressed the need to keep people productive and self-reliant, so that they did not become dependent on the state. A similarity exists between residual features in the New Poor Law and in the design of the PSS Program. These features are also consistent with Social Credit ideology, and were also clearly evident in Whitton's 1943 study, The Dawn of Ampler Life. In this study, Whitton identified the need to develop self-sufficiency and the need for a partnership of public services and voluntary effort. Whitton's faith in the

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[111] Michael Lavalette and Alan Pratt, " Social Policy," p. 4.
[112] Boychuk, Patchworks of Purpose, pp 7-10.
[113] Ibid., p. 9.

voluntary sector was based on experience gleaned from the terrible suffering many Canadians experienced during the Great Depression. Whitton concluded that funding "for discretionary grants from the Public Treasury [had its most effective application when it had] engaged the great reservoir of citizen interest and effort together with the skilled technical personnel of the flexible voluntary agency."[114] Throughout Whitton's study there were also references to the importance of gainful employment and adequate wage and price levels. Whitton directed her attention to the need for an economic plan to ensure gainful employment at a level that would guarantee a reasonable level of security and decency.[115] Whitton's emphasis on the importance of employment is further demonstrated in her discussion of the character of the Canadian people. According to Whitton, "energy, ambition and an instinct of thrift still are bred in the people."[116] Whitton, like the pioneers of Alberta, stressed the importance of work, and the value of family and community as the mainstays of a functional social system.[117]

Although Whitton acknowledged the importance of social assistance to offset the effects of periodic slowdowns in the economy, her concept of social welfare could be best summarized as follows. She believed that social policy should focus "on the development of resources and production geared to assurance of the highest possible level of continuous gainful occupation on a self-supporting basis for all workers, whether on wages or self-employed.[118] What becomes increasingly apparent in analyzing Whitton's concept of social welfare is the parallel between the ideas from her 1943 study and those of the 1947 IODE

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[114] Whitton, Charlotte, The Dawn of Ampler Life, Some Aids to Social Security, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1943), p. 70.
[115] Ibid., p. 22.
[116] Ibid., p. 4.
[117] Ibid., pp 2-19.
[118] Ibid., p. 4.

Report which she wrote, and the programs introduced by Manning and his public welfare bureaucrats in the 1950's and 1960's.

Ideas, however, outside of the political arena, even those compatible with the dominant ideology of the party in power, are likely to be ignored, unless a powerful ally within the system sanctions them. The role of the IODE in the transfer of ideas into action is crucial in understanding the process of change in social welfare policies and programs during the period of Manning's tenure as Premier.

CHAPTER FIVE

CLASS, ETHNICITY AND GENDER

In earlier chapters it has been asserted that class played a role in the process of social policy development during the Social Credit dynasty. The approach adopted here is that social policy reflects the values and interests of the dominant class in a society, and in this case, Alberta society. Prior to 1940, farmers, farm labourers and businessmen largely populated Alberta, with urban businessmen and professionals constituting the dominant class.[1] The idea of Alberta's classless past was a popular myth, a legacy of the pioneers of early Alberta. Although the population in those early years was relatively homogeneous in composition, there was some degree of differentiation.[2] However, there appeared to have been an implied acceptance of equality within largely rural-based Alberta in the first half of the twentieth century. It is quite likely that the "rural belief in classlessness had some effect on the extent to which people would openly admit class differences in Alberta."[3] What is significant also was the relationship between class structure and welfare programs. According to Dennis Forcese, in his study of class, "the existence of welfare programs in conjunction with the existence of class both concedes and contributes to the greater rigidity of that class structure."[4] This argument was clearly demonstrated in the dynamics of the relationship of the Social Credit Party of both Manning and Aberhart, and the IODE. The

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[1] See Donna Poetschke and Roberta McKown, "Perception of Class in Alberta," in Society and Politics in Alberta, Research Papers, Carlo Caldarola, ed., (Toronto: Methuen Publications 1979), p. 193: Dennis Forcese, The Canadian Class Structure, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1975), pp 82-84; Nancy M. Sheehan, " Philosophy, Pedagogy and Practice: the IODE and the Schools in Canada, 1900-1945," Historical Studies in Education, Vol. 2, 1990, Winnifred & Ruby Herp, eds., (London: Ontario Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario) p. 315-318.

[2] Poetschke & McKown, ""Perception of Class in Alberta," pp 193-203.

[3] Ibid. Poetschke & McKown citing J Porter: Porter suggests that due to media influence, the rural and urban influences have become meshed in what he describes as 'middle class classlessness.'

[4] Dennis Forcese, The Canadian Class Structure, p. 83

IODE, in spite of its fervor for improving the social welfare safety net in Alberta before the Second World War and during the post war reconstruction era was, in terms of class dynamics, "a keeper of the status quo."[5] Both educational and welfare reform were accomplished, for the most part, within the traditional socio-economic structure in Alberta and within the parameters of the political culture of the Social Credit Government.

During the first half of the twentieth century, volunteering was a middle class activity in English Canada. Neither the working class nor the poor had the financial means or the time to devote to volunteer work. Volunteering was also predominantly a gendered activity of middle class women.[10] Except for a short period during the Second World War, most middle class women worked in the home, and had the time and flexibility to get involved in charitable work. Women from more affluent families were generally expected to contribute both time and money to charitable work.[11] After the Second World War, women were encouraged to return to their traditional role as housewife. The employment needs of the soldiers returning from war took precedence over those of women, especially married women.[12] However, IODE records indicate that the postwar period was a very busy one for the Order as a result of their diversity of interests, both home and abroad. One of the main goals of the IODE was the maintenance of ties to the Empire. The Order had been originally mandated to provide assistance to soldiers and their families during the Boer War. This orientation would place the Order in the position of doing its patriotic duty during both world wars. During the Second World War, the Order was kept busy, financing

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[5] See IODE minutes and newspaper articles from the period 1936 to 1955; Sheehan, "Philosophy, Pedagogy and Practice," pp 307-321.
[6] Ibid., pp 307-321.
[7] Desmond Morton and Terry Copp, Working People, (Ottawa: Deneau and Greenberg Publishers Ltd. 1980), pp 136-156.

the war effort, volunteering both time and money to ensuring the comfort of soldiers and their families, and maintaining their obligations at home, particularly their commitment to educational and social welfare initiatives.[8]

The selection of the IODE as an example of a non-profit organization in welfare provision has relevance beyond that of its role as a service provider. The IODE serves as an example of how class played a key role in the development of social policies. The Order was "middle and upper class in membership, activities, and lifestyle...and in its members' identification as wives of prominent people."[9] As noted, the Order was also a key constituent of the Social Credit Government.

There is yet another related factor in the development of social policies in the period 1935-1950 that requires further examination, and that is the ethnic composition of the IODE itself. Prior to 1950, citizens of British descent were perceived by Albertans as being 'privileged.'[10] A contributing factor was perhaps the fact that the majority of Albertans were of British ancestry. The 1931 census statistics indicate that slightly more than 50% of Albertans were of British descent.[11] The political connection between the Social Credit Party and the IODE was evident in the political support the organization provided to both Aberhart and Manning. Both the United Farmers of Alberta and the Social Credit Party

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[8] Provincial Archives, IODE, Provincial and Municipal Chapter minutes, 1940-1945: Edmonton Journal, March 11, 1947; Report on the Child Welfare Branch, Department of Welfare, Province of Alberta, Edmonton, 1948), 1948- pp 1-4.

[9] Nancy M. Sheehan, "Philosophy, Pedagogy and Practice, The IODE and the Schools in Canada, 1900-1945," Historical Studies in Education, p. 322.

[10] Dennis Forcese, The Canadian Class Structure, pp 42-51.

[11] See Bella, Leslie, "The Politics of A Right-Wing Welfare State,"(PhD thesis, University of Alberta, 1981) pp 3-4; Carlos Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta, 1935-1971," in Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers, Carlo Caldarola,ed., (Toronto: Meuthen Publications 1979) ed., p. 35.

were populist movements that relied heavily on the support of those of British and American heritage.[12]

As noted, IODE members were married to men in the business, professional and managerial strata of Alberta society. The organization itself was composed of women of British origin. The ethnic factor is important in analyzing welfare reform in Alberta as "those of British origin have tended in disproportionate numbers to occupy high class positions."[18] Therefore, the ethnic composition of the IODE also accounts for its pivotal role within Alberta society.

The level of accommodation of the Social Credit Government to the demands of the Order can be gleaned from the government's response to a resolution passed at an IODE Executive meeting on June 25, 1940. At this time France had surrendered and Britain now faced a Nazi invasion. The resolution from the Order stated that "there may be danger of [disloyalty] to this country," and suggested that "[the] Department of Education authorize a brief ceremony for use in the schools of the Province with the daily salute of the flag."[14] The Social Credit Government, as usual, responded positively to the IODE request. Loyalty to Britain, however, was not limited to members of the IODE. Many Albertans, "both women and men, advocated closer ties with Britain and the Empire, promoted British institutions and values, and welfare reform, and assumed nationalism and imperialism to be one and the same."[15]

There is a good deal of evidence of a reciprocal relationship between the Social Credit government of both Aberhart and Manning, and the Order. The IODE played a major role

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[12] Thomas Flanagan, "Ethnic Voting in Alberta Provincial Elections 1921-1975," in Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers, Carlo Caldarola ed, (Toronto: Methuen Publications 1979), p. 321.
[13] Dennis Forcese, The Canadian Class Structure, pp 42.
[14] IODE Minute Alberta Provincial Chapter, June 25, 1940.
[15] Nancy Sheehan, "Philosophy, Pedagogy and Practice," p. 307.

in the funding of scholarships, the purchasing of equipment and textbooks and other literary material for schools and libraries.[16] The Order had assumed the responsibility for educational work as one of its primary goals, although the commitment to ensuring that schools adhered to patriotic lines took precedence. It was in the educational work of the Order in the 1930's that we see the seeds of future welfare reform, particularly in the field of child welfare. According to Nancy Sheehan, "another principle guiding the work of the IODE was the belief that children held the best hope for the country."[18]

In the period 1935 to 1955 there is further evidence to suggest that the Social Credit government was receptive to IODE requests and did its best to accommodate the Order. In a letter to Mrs. Edna Dalgleish, Provincial Secretary of the IODE, dated December 7, 1936, the Alberta Deputy Minister of Education, Fred McNally, remarked that "letters containing certain resolutions passed at the IODE Provincial Meeting reached the office after Mr. Aberhart had left for the East. They will be brought to his attention immediately after his return."[18] The letter clearly shows the high regard that the Social Credit government had for the organization. Correspondence from the Order was given immediate and personal attention by the Premier, which was clearly not the normal process of communication between the public and the government.

As an organization committed to ensuring closer ties with the British Empire, IODE members played an important role in maintaining loyalty to Britain by using their privileged position as community leaders to influence the Alberta government. Fortunately for those needing welfare assistance in the Province, their sphere of influence went beyond

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[16] See IODE Minutes, Correspondence 1936-1944; Sheehan, "Philosophy, Pedagogy & Practice," p. 322.
[17] Ibid., p. 309.
[18] IODE Correspondence, Provincial Chapter, December 7, 1936.

educational and patriotic issues and focused on the inadequate government services for children, the disabled and the aged in the province.

The idea that these prominent women were instruments of social control would, in all likelihood, never have entered their minds. Their position within the voluntary sector allowed them the opportunity to become aware of social issues, and to respond to the plight of those less fortunate. The welfare solutions of the IODE, tainted with residual elements as they were, were based on compassion. As urbanization and demographic changes in the 1950's and 1960's diminished the homogeneity of Alberta society, the influence of the IODE on government welfare initiatives dwindled.[19] Alberta's class structure took on a new definition. Within a few years the Social Credit Party would lose its own sphere of influence, but its reform legacy would live on. It would continue to contain elements of its residual past, shaped by one of its most powerful constituents.

Until the 1970's, women's history in Canada has been a neglected area of research. The voluntary sector, an important part of women's lifework, has suffered much the same fate. Thus, the high percentage of women involved in voluntary sector activities has contributed to the obscurity of the sector itself.

The class system, with its rigid role expectation, had led women to get involved in what was seen as a legitimate pastime for them. It not only provided a positive outlet for their creative energies, but also allowed high achieving women an opportunity for mobility. Volunteer work provided a platform for women to prove their worth in a publicly acceptable way. The skills of the Provincial Executive of the Alberta IODE were indicative of a high level of professional expertise.

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[19] Poetschke and McKown, "Perception of Class in Alberta," p. 196.

Gender is central in understanding social welfare policy. As Kath Woodward observes, "Feminist perspective locates gender as a structuring principle of social policy and the provision of welfare, and puts gender first when defining social problems in explaining their causes or exploring appropriate levels of state or voluntary sector intervention."[20] The complexity of the feminist dynamic in social policy development is reflected in the Welfare in Alberta Report of 1947. The author of the Report, Charlotte Whitton, was a declared feminist, whose conservative views led her to advocate welfare policies that reinforced the stereotypical, patriarchal social system itself. Throughout her life, Whitton had struggled to come to grips with this dilemma. She resolved it by adhering to her own brand of feminism, where true equality required rejection of marriage altogether.[21]

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[20] Kath Woodward, "Feminist Critiques of Social Policy, "in Social Policy: Social Credit a Conceptual and Theoretical Introduction, Michael Lavallette and Alan Pratt, eds. (London: Sage Publications 1997), p. 88.
[21] Ibid. p. 83.

CHAPTER 6

THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR: A NEW FOCUS ON AN OLD TRADITION

The Voluntary or Not-for-Profit Sector, as it is sometimes called, has played an important role in the social, economic and political life of Alberta. Today, experts in the field of policy studies regard this sector as a serious player in the socio-economic life of the nation, interfacing with government, the public and the business community. The sector raises millions of dollars each year to offset the cost of operating government services and contributes to economic development as a major purchaser of goods and services. Today this sector is viewed as a growth industry.[1]

Historically, the Voluntary Sector has played a much greater role than has been generally acknowledged, specifically its role in the design and delivery of welfare services in the Province of Alberta. Policy studies tend to focus on the very recent past and on the present. Therefore it has largely ignored historical research on the voluntary sector.

The dynamic of resource interdependence between these two sectors demonstrates how Alberta has followed a distinct trajectory of development, incorporating the voluntary sector at every stage. One of the most distinctive features of the period of Social Credit rule was its dependence on this sector. Alberta has also been influenced by the American frontier ethos of self-sufficiency and independence. It has a social welfare system that has more similarities with the American system of welfare provision than that of any other province in Canada. The most important similarity between the two systems is their reliance on the non-profit sector as a key resource in the process of delivering services. A

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[1] David Sharpe, "The Canadian Charitable Sector: An Overview," Between State and Market, Essays on Charities Law and Policy in Canada, Jim Phillips, Bruce Chapman, and David Stevens eds. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2001) pp 13-48.

major difference is that the non-profit sector in Canada is more dependent on government funding than its American counterpart, which relies more on individual donations.[2]

A recent study of the non-profit sector in Canada by Keith Banting highlights the issue of the failure of academics and politicians to recognize and incorporate the Non-Profit or Third Sector in policy debates. Although this study has an Eastern Canadian focus, its findings are substantive. In another study, Banting teams up with Michael Hall in an article on the Non-Profit Sector in Canada. The authors observe that the "recent interest in non-profit organizations in Canada has been driven by a number of changes in our politics and our social structure .....[and] appears to be emerging as a chosen instrument of collective action in a new century."[3] This comment, of course, refers to the current trend towards the dismantling of the welfare state and the government's increasing dependence on the voluntary sector to facilitate the transition. It is obvious that the authors' collection of data is mainly from Ontario, although one article deals with Manitoba and another compares homecare policies in Quebec and Ontario. The article, however, does not incorporate Alberta in its analysis.[4] The failure to incorporate Alberta in any analysis of the non-profit sector in Canada has serious implications for research, as Alberta has had a traditionally distinct and long-term relationship to this sector. Alberta has never abandoned its relationship with the non-profit or voluntary sector. In spite of the generous influx of funds into Alberta during the peak years of the development of the Welfare State in Canada, Alberta has continued to rely heavily on input from the voluntary sector and funds it

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[2] Judith Saidel, " Resource Interdependence: The Relationship between State Agencies and Nonprofit Organizations, " (Thesis dissertation, Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy Department of Public Administration & Policy 1991), pp 380-389.
[3] Michael Hall and Keith Banting, "The Nonprofit Sector in Canada , An Introduction," in Keith Banting,ed.,The Nonprofit Sector in Canada; Roles and Relationships, (Kingston, Ontario: School of Policy Studies, Queens University, 2000), p. 2.
[4] Ibid., p. 95.

accordingly. Richard Splane alludes to the significance of the voluntary sector in his study of the federal-provincial social security review in the 1970's. He asserts that "the traditional attitudes of Alberta towards social welfare and the pressures exerted by the voluntary sector were factors in influencing Alberta's relationship to the review."[5]

A present-centered approach to analyzing social welfare policy reform within both public and private sectors creates barriers to an understanding of the dynamics of social welfare reforms. In order to understand it more fully, it is necessary to take a closer look at this relationship from a historical perspective. The failure to acknowledge the significance of the historical divergence in policy development leads one to believe that the structural changes associated with welfare state policies and programs were uniform throughout Canada and "that government retrenchment in the 1990's …led to a renewed interest in the potential role of nonprofit organizations in filling the resulting gaps in our safety net."[6]

Alberta's Divergent Path

The history of social welfare development in Alberta has followed the pattern of assistance regimes in other provinces in that each had its own unique policy design and implementation process.[7] Provincial diversity is the hallmark of the Canadian social assistance system. Social welfare initiatives involve a wide range of services, but "social assistance is a critical element of the Welfare State," and needs to be given special consideration in any historical analysis. During the first twelve years of Social Credit rule

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[5] Richard Splane, "Alberta and the Federal-Provincial Social Services Initiative 1975-1985, in Perspective on Social Services and Social Issues, Jacqueline S. Ismael and Ray Thomlison, eds., (Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1987), p. 10.
[6] Michael Hall and Keith G. Banting, "The Nonprofit Sector in Canada" p. 2.
[7] Gerald William Boychuk, Patchworks of Purpose, The Development of Provincial Social Assistance Regimes in Canada, (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press 1998), pp 24-40.

in Alberta (1935-1947), Charlotte Whitton asserted, "the whole concept of relief and assistance in the Province was unjustifiably harsh and correspondingly inadequately conceived and ill-integrated."[8] In her Report, sponsored by the IODE, Whitton stressed the need for a minimum standard of social assistance "varying with the needs of families, single men and women, and with urban and rural requirements and different economic areas within the Province."[9] As noted earlier, the reforms resulted in a substantial increase in funding for the Department of Public Welfare in 1949. Incremental reforms followed, and by 1961 the Manning government had instituted a needs-based assistance program, reflecting a major shift in policy from the traditional system based on categories.[10] What makes this shift more significant was the reality that this divergence pre-dated the implementation of the Canadian Assistance Plan (CAP) by four years. CAP legislation was passed in 1966. It is apparent that the social welfare reforms of the 1950's and early 1960's in Alberta were largely independent of federal government initiatives. Therefore, the 1947 IODE Report was a major contributing factor in this shift.

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[8] Welfare in Alberta, The Report of a Study Undertaken by the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, Alberta Provincial Chapter, Edmonton, 1947, p. 9.
[9] Ibid., p. X.
[10] See Bella, The Origins of Alberta's Preventive Social Services Program, pp 256-257; Carlo Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta 1935-1971," Society and Politics in Alberta, Research Papers, Carlo Caldarola,ed., (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979) p. 42.

CONCLUSION

The 'right-wing ' Welfare State policies of the Manning government in the 1960's were neither right wing nor compatible with what we commonly refer to as institutional programs, -the hallmark of a welfare state system. An institutional initiative is based on a collectivistic concept of social service delivery. Historically, Alberta has relied on the municipality, the voluntary sector and the family to meet many of its welfare needs. It has also, historically, fostered a political culture that nourished a residual approach to the resolution of social problems within a later framework of a federally initiated and financed, quasi-institutional, welfare state concept of service provision. The resolve of both Aberhart and Manning to withstand the imposition of federal welfare state initiatives was compatible with the dominant political and social philosophy of the period in Alberta, and was not solely a reflection of Social Credit political ideology. Manning's public renunciation of the recommendations of the IODE Report on social welfare in 1947 was, it is submitted, little more than a political ploy which allowed him the opportunity of resurrecting the anti-eastern sentiments of the public, by using Whitton's involvement in the study, as an example of Eastern Canadian interference in Alberta's affairs. At the same time, Manning gradually implemented social welfare policies and practices largely consistent with the recommendations in the IODE Report. Manning implemented social welfare reform, utilized federal subsidies and provincial oil and gas revenues, while at the same time gaining approval through his incremental social and economic resource development initiatives. His accommodation to the tenets of the IODE Report appears to have pacified the members of the IODE and the wider community as well. Hence, Manning was able to

regain his popularity and Whitton her credibility. She was later to enjoy the privilege and status associated with becoming Mayor of Ottawa for four full terms, and part of a fifth, until her defeat in 1964.[1] In Alberta, the biggest beneficiaries of her endeavours were the recipients of expanded social welfare services.

The arguments regarding the origins of the policy initiatives of Manning in the 1960's, as outlined earlier, reflect the complexity of the issue. A problem arises when one attempts to assign primacy to one factor without a thorough examination of other related factors within both a theoretical and historical analysis. Failure to include the voluntary or Third Sector in an analysis of social welfare policy, particularly in Alberta, where the sector has played such an important role, has resulted in an incomplete understanding of provincial social policy, as it neglects a crucial piece of the puzzle.

The historical role of the IODE, as an example of a voluntary agency, also demonstrates the concept and significance of resource interdependence, a sharing of resources between two powerful sectors. In the period 1936-1945 this interdependence led to a reciprocal client-patron relationship that was expressed in a powerful alliance between the voluntary sector and the Social Credit government. The IODE, as a gendered, class-based representative of this sector, became a vehicle used by the Social Credit administration of both Aberhart and Manning to assist the government with the delivery of welfare services, and to garner much needed publicity and legitimacy for the government's role in welfare provision. Fortunately for the poor in the Province, the strong connection between the government and the IODE also allowed the Order the opportunity to influence policy decisions. The failure of Manning to adhere strictly to basic tenets of federal welfare state initiatives however was sanctioned by both the public and the voluntary sector, as a

[1]Canadian Encyclopedia: Year 2000 Edition, p. 2506

reflection of public opinion, and as an expression of Alberta's traditional and divergent approach to welfare service provision in the province.

The role of the voluntary sector in the design and implementation of social programs was clearly reflected in the IODE Report and the subsequent responsive action on the part of the Manning government. Manning's later initiatives bear a startling resemblance to the recommendations in the IODE Report. The Report's relationship to welfare reforms following the controversy that came after its publication, bears testimony that it had become a primary document, a 'blueprint for action', that influenced the Social Credit Government to develop its own unique style of welfare reform. This argument is based on the undeniable similarity between the two sectors' strategies for social welfare reform, as well as the government's actual welfare reforms. Manning, however, would continue to deny the influence of the IODE Report on any subsequent social welfare programming.

To classify the Social Credit social welfare initiatives of Manning during the 1950's and 1960's, as an example of a collectivist, centralist approach, is to ignore the significance of its continued reliance on a community model of service delivery. The popularity and longevity of its PSS Program is a prime example of its commitment to self-reliant individualism, community and voluntary action, both key features of a traditional or residual system.

The argument put forward by Bella, that the basis of policy reform can be seen in the Social Credit Party's class- based roots has particular relevance in understanding the dynamics of policy development under the Social Credit Government, as does Boychuk's theory of differing trajectories of social welfare development. Both theories support the argument of this thesis, that the IODE, as a key constituent of the Social Credit

Government and a leading member of the voluntary community, helped to prevent the development of full-blown welfare state policies in Alberta, while simultaneously encouraging much needed welfare reform, particularly in the field of family and child welfare.

The IODE provided middle and upper class women in Alberta with the opportunity to enter the political arena through the 'back door' and profoundly influenced the design of welfare programs, which to this day define Alberta's social welfare system. The gendered and class dimensions of this sector further serve to demonstrate the relevance for its inclusion in any analysis of social welfare policy development. In Alberta, due to its unique developmental path, its inclusion in the process of historical analysis is imperative. The history of social welfare in Alberta is inseparable from the study of the history of both the IODE and the wider voluntary sector in the Province.

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